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ABSTRACT

The problems confronting Latinos (or Hispanic Americans) in the Chicago area today, with particular emphasis on housing and job opportunities, are the subject of this report. A brief history of Latino settlement in Chicago is followed by a discussion of selected Latino socioeconomic characteristics in 1980. Residential distribution, residential segregration, housing conditions, and subsidized housing programs are then discussed in turn. A chapter on education is followed by chapters on Latinos in the labor force, occupational and industrial trends, Latinos in city jobs, and Latino participation in programs funded by the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). An appendix contains data about population, income, housing, education, language use, and jobs. (CMG)

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LATINOS IN METROPOLITAN CHICAGO: A STUDY OF HOUSING AND EMPLOYMENT

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LATINOS IN METROPOLITAN CHICAGO: A STUDY OF HOUSING AND EMPLOYMENT

MONOGRAPH 6

LATINO INSTITUTE
53 W. JACKSON, SUITE 940
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60604
SEPTEMBER 1983

The Latino Institute seeks to empower individuals and groups committed to obtaining a fair share of the public and private resources required to improve the quality of life for the Latino community in the Chicago metropolitan area. At present, the Institute's programs are in advocacy, management training and technical assistance, and documentation and research.

The Latino Institute was pleased to respond to Professor Gary Orfield's initial request for direction regarding this important project. We suggested the general lines for the research but left the investigators at liberty to pursue the topic. The accuracy and adequacy of the research are the sole responsibility of the authors, and this monograph is printed with their consent and permission. Subsequent to the research, staff members of the Institute's Research Division edited the narrative portions of the manuscript and prepared the final copy for this publication. We are appreciative of the contributions of Professor Orfield and the students.

The publication was made possible by the generous support of the Continental Illinois Bank Foundation and The Chicago Community Trust. The analysis, interpretations, and opinions expressed in this report do not necessarily reflect the positions or policies of the Latino Institute or of its donors. We are confident, nonetheless, that this report will contribute to a better understanding of the Latino reality in Chicago and help to stimulate further research.

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The cover photomontage was created for this monograph by Eliud Hernández.

LATINOS IN METROPOLITAN CHICAGO:
A STUDY OF HOUSING AND EMPLOYMENT

A Report to the Latino Institute

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INTRODUCTION

Although much has been written about European immigrants and black migration, it is only recently that Chicago's leaders, and the media, have begun to focus attention on the large Latino immigration which has created diverse and rapidly growing Latino communities in Chicago. The term "Latino" is used in this study to describe U.S. residents of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American origin.

Chicago has been a powerful magnet for many of the great migrations that have shaped our urban history. The City's massive industrial economy attracted and absorbed uneducated European immigrants by the thousands in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Intense demand for workers in expanding industries and the labor shortages of World Wars I and II, coupled with various legal restrictions on immigration from Europe, stimulated a vast black exodus from the rural South and a steady Latino immigration. These migrations have fundamentally transformed major parts of Chicago.

Chicago is the dominant center for Latino settlement in the Midwest and ranks fourth in Latino population among the nation's urban centers. There are more Mexicans in Los Angeles, more Puerto Ricans in New York, and more Cubans in Miami; however, Chicago has large populations of each in proportions almost equal to the national average. There are also many Central and South Americans. Chicago, then, has a diversity of Latino communities that is without equal.

At a time when there is a large net migration out of metropolitan Chicago and a continuing rapid growth of Latino communities, it is important that we study what is happening to this growing segment of metropolitan Chicago's population. Among the most important questions to consider is whether Latinos are gaining full access to the opportunities Chicago has to offer, or are confronting difficulties that portend social and economic problems.

Background of the Project

The University of Chicago's Public Policy Studies program provides an opportunity each year for students studying policy analysis to work on a joint student-faculty research project analyzing major public issues for a local agency. This study was designed and carried out in response to advice from the Latino Institute, an advocacy, research, and training organization in Chicago. This report is our group's response to the suggestion that we analyze data on the current access of Latinos to jobs and housing in metropolitan Chicago.

This work was conducted by ten undergraduate students from the University of Chicago and one from Lake Forest College, working under the supervision of Prof. Gary Orfield and Ricardo Tostado, a graduate student in political science at the University.

We began our work in January 1983, with an examination of the background characteristics of the area's Latino population. Before analyzing job and housing problems, we had to know the size and growth rate of the various Latino communities, and the background and settlement patterns of the various groups. We also had to consider the economic, educational, and social circumstances of Chicago's Latinos to determine the nature of the problems they confront in obtaining jobs and housing. This work involved gathering basic data and documentation from many sources and analysis of the 1980 Census. (1)

We found that there has been very little research on Latinos in Chicago. On a number of important issues, even basic data that go back more than a few years are unavailable. The Bureau of the Census has so drastically changed definitions and procedures in counting Latinos that a precise trend analysis is impossible. All of the data collection and reliability problems are heightened

by an undercount of an unknown number of Latinos. We have attempted to use the best available data to describe the Latino population of Chicago, but the reader should keep these problems in mind, particularly when trying to make comparisons over time.

Basic Findings

Significant Latino settlement in Chicago dates back more than half a century. The early Mexican settlements in the Near West Side, Pilsen-Little Village, Back of the Yards, South Chicago, and East Chicago, Indiana areas have greatly expanded beyond their earlier boundaries and remain the centers of Mexican settlement. Puerto Rican migration was later, and the largest concentrations are in the West Town, Humboldt Park, and Logan Square areas of the City.

We found that the various Latino groups were sharply separated within Chicago from blacks, whites, and to a large extent, from each other. Our analysis also found sizable and growing Latino settlements in Aurora, East Chicago and Waukegan, as well as in a number of other satellite cities in suburban areas. The evidence clearly suggests a continued expansion of Latino communites in the Chicago metropolitan area.

Census data show high levels of poverty, low educational attainment, and family incomes below the Chicago area average. High school and college completion rates for most Latino groups are very low, signaling mounting problems for them in a changing economy. The job situation has both positive and ominous features. The Latino population is young and shows a high level of labor force participation. Their workforce has been expanding at an extraordinary rate in recent years, particularly among women. However, unmployment has been rising rapidly. Latinos, especially men, are concentrated in lesser-skilled industrial jobs which are rapidly disappearing in the Chicago labor market. Many Latinos do not have the education and training required for openings in professional, technical, or managerial occupations. These trends suggest that the economic situation of many Latino families is very uncertain.

The optimistic part of our analysis, however, is an assessment that something can be done about the growing employment and economic crisis facing Latino families. Both national and local statistics from federal job training programs show the powerful impact of education and training on employment of Latinos. The public and private schools, colleges and universities, adult education and job training programs of the metropolitan area will be important factors in the future of Latino workers and their families.

Our research indicates that Latinos do not share fully in housing opportunities. They live in segregated areas, and in crowded housing. They are far below the city average on measures of home ownership and have received a very limited share of low-cost mortgages from special City bonds. There has been a significant loss of rental housing in Latino communities. Access to various forms of subsidized housing, both in the City and some suburban communities, has been miniscule for Latinos. Public response to the growing housing needs of the rapidly expanding Latino population is practically non-existent.

Latinos in metropolitan Chicago are a young and rapidly growing population. Latinos came and continue to come to Chicago for the same reason earlier immigrants did: to seek an opportunity for a better life. The data show both a dynamism and an eagerness to participate, as well as warnings of possibly severe socioeconomic problems for Latinos in the City and suburbs. It is crucial for the future of Chicago that the Latino communities be given full recognition and their problems attended to by government, corporate, and political leaders alike.

This report is much more a beginning than a conclusion. We strongly encourage

further studies by universities, government agencies, and Latino organizations to examine issues that go beyond our task. We hope that others push further toward a more comprehensive understanding of the issues we have explored. At a time when strong economic and social changes are shaping the destiny of Chicago's Latinos and structuring future relationships between Latinos and other major groups, we must learn all we can about the problems of these burgeoning communities, and the policies most likely to open genuine opportunites for their fuíl participation in our urban community. Chicago cannot afford to lose this potential contribution or to create new problems of separation, discrimination, and inequality.

We are proud to have been part of the process and we hope that this report will help move leaders in metropolitan Chicago to serious thought and constructive action.

1. BRIEF HISTORY OF LATINO SETTLEMENT

Although most of the attention given to Latinos in the United States has been focused on the Southwest and New York, a substantial number of Latinos live in the Midwest. An examination of Latino history in Chicago shows roots that are as deep and old as those of Europeans and Southern blacks, as well as crucial differences in the conditions and problems Latinos face.

Latinos came to Chicago and its surrounding communities seeking opportunity. They found both numerous opportunities and profound disappointments. They came not because of a special attraction to the City or a special welcome, but because of crucial labor shortages in many expanding industries, as well as social and economic disruptions in their countries of origin. Over the years, Chicago's Latinos have found prosperity during periods of economic growth, and severe abuse during periods of economic crisis. An examination of Latino history in Chicago offers us clues to explaining their present conditions, as well as insights into their future.

Mexican Immigration Before 1930

Although the Census of 1850 reported Illinois to have 52 Mexican residents, they did not arrive in significant numbers until about 1910. During the period between 1910-1925 Mexicans came to Chicago for many of the same reasons as Southern, Central and Eastern Europeans had a few years earlier: the promise of opportunities which could not be found in their homelands.

Various "push" and "pull" forces drove Latinos northward to Chicago. "Push" forces, included the economic and social disruption caused by the Mexican Revolution and the ensuing twenty-year period of regional political disorder which drove many Mexicans to abandon their village homelands in search of work. Many resettled in Mexico's large cities, but a substantial number were motivated to move north by the prospect of jobs in the U.S. Early on, few Mexicans came all the way to the large industrial centers of the Midwest. As industry expanded, however, more of them made the long journey, inspired by the prospect of jobs in Chicago's diverse industrial base. Eventually, they were actively recruited by the employers themselves, who were looking for a new, inexpensive, and hard-working labor supply (Taylor 1932:52).

During this era, several special conditions interacted to make Mexicans the newest large immigrant group in Chicago. Among these, World War I labor shortages and increased wartime demands for steel and other industrial products, helped generate the need for Mexican labor (Taylor:56). The Quota Act of 1921 which effectively restricted immigration from Europe forced the U.S. government to relax restrictions on the border between the U.S. and Mexico. Also, the recently completed railway system linking Northern Mexico and the Southwestern U.S. made Mexican immigration easier (Año Nuevo 1976:18). Overall, these "pull" factors contributed to increase the Mexican population of Chicago from 672 in 1910 to 20,963 in 1930 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1933:98).

Many of those who arrived in these formative years of Mexican settlement came as contract laborers for the railroads and settled in labor camps in and around the City (Jones 1928:34). A substantial portion later moved on to work in other, better-paying jobs in the steel and meat packing industries (Jones:36). There they joined other Mexican immigrants who were establishing themselves in the steel mills of South Chicago and Gary, and the packinghouses of the Back of the Yards area.

As with earlier immigrants, the Mexican settlement patterns of this era reflected the importance of the workplace. The three largest Mexican "colonias" were founded near the mills of U.S. Steel, Inland Steel, and Wisconsin Steel. The Hull House colonia on the near west side of the City housed a small number of

Mexicans in and around the rail yards. This neighborhood, which would later have much of its core leveled by urban renewal to build the University of Illinois campus, was the point of origin of Pilsen-Little Village, one of the largest contemporary Latino settlements in the City. The smallest of the three, the Back of the Yards colonia was adjacent to the packinghouses.

In their neighborhoods, Latinos confronted problems of access to housing and problems of housing quality. The problems they faced, although not as serious as those faced by blacks, nonetheless caused increasing distress (Hughes 1925:61). Generally, poor immigrant groups coming to industrial cities during times of booming economies have faced housing shortages and conflicts with existing groups over housing. Problems of landlord exploitation in overcrowded slum neighborhoods and serious health problems are part of the story of many immigrant communities. Early Mexican immigrants to Chicago faced all of these difficulties and more.

A fundamental problem for Mexicans was a system of widespread discrimination based not on a temporary or changeable condition (such as income, language, or citizenship), but a permanent physical characteristic, color. Mexicans, like blacks, faced discrimination and exclusion which did not diminish from one generation to the next as was true for other immigrants. Mexicans faced steadily greater physical isolation in their housing. They simply were not part of the larger housing market (Hughes:21).

Early research reported housing conditions to be worst in the Hull House area (Abbott 1936:188-89). Families were often crowded into basement apartments. A pall of heavy industrial pollution hung over the area, often blocking the sun. Children had no place to play, the area was rat-infested (Jones:19.) The better housing of this early period was found in the older but smaller South Chicago area (Jones:60,67). In 1928, one observer reported that most Mexicans in the area had decent housing, although segregated and, according to another study, below the area norm in terms of quality (Abbott:136). A 1925 survey found that Mexicans were paying lower rents than blacks and whites in the neighborhoods surveyed (Hughes:36-37). However, Edith Abbott's "The Tenements of Chicago" (296), concluded that "with regard to comparatively high rents and little choice in selecting a dwelling, the Mexican shares the disadvantage of the Negro".

Latinos faced strong resistance to their moving into neighborhoods beyond their initial settlement. Some railway laborers, for example, had no place to house their families except for a few discarded boxcars near the railway yards in such areas as Chicago Heights and Blue Island (Jones:81). In some areas, Mexicans faced the same "color tax" problem blacks endured; that is, being forced to pay higher rents than whites for the same housing unit. An Irish policeman told a researcher that Mexicans "depreciate property values and take the jobs of others." (Taylor:222). This type of resistance prevented Mexican settlement in some areas near the stockyards. The struggles included intimidation and violence.

During this period, little attention was paid to Mexican housing problems. The City of Chicago commissioned several studies on the matter, but in the end little real housing reform was implemented. One report cautioned officials not to rely solely on private initiative because "they (the builders) will continue building when and where a profit can be counted upon...More high grade apartment buildings will be built whose rental for a single room is more than a small-wage earner can afford for his entire dwelling." (Hughes:41). The report suggested that part of the problem could be solved through the combined efforts of large industries and the community. However, little change resulted from the recommendations.

The early history of Mexican housing shows a number of themes that have continued throughout the development of Chicago's Latino communities. Latinos faced problems that were worse and partially different from those of European groups, but less extreme than those facing blacks. By 1930, some of the early Mexican immigrants improved their housing as their general employment and social situation improved. However, many, especially more recent immigrants inherited the problems their more fortunate "paisanos" left behind. To a large extent, these housing problems of the early settlement era are still with us today.

Employment and occupational patterns crystallized early in some of the large industries in which Mexicans worked. The new immigrants were praised for their hard work in the lowest-skilled jobs, while opportunities for advancement came slowly. According to a report by the Immigrants Protective League, dated 1934, a Wisconsin Steel official was quoted as saying enthusiastically, "I would not say that chipping is an art, but the way the Mexicans chip is very artistic. They are exceptionally neat and accurate and seem to have a special chipping skill." (Rich 1934:9). The same officials reported that Mexicans were barred from certain types of skilled trades because they were not journeymen mechanics. The report concluded, "It is impossible to know the number who have been graded up but it is believed to be small." (Rich:9).

Despite the occupational blocks they encountered, the period from 1910 to 1930 was a time of relative economic prosperity for Mexicans in Chicago. Most found work in industry. A 1925 study of small-wage earners in Chicago reported that 70 percent of the Mexican men were employed in three industries: the railroad, the stockyards, and the steel mills (Hughes:48). Although Mexicans were relegated to the lowest-paid industrial jobs, their economic condition compared favorably with the life they left behind. To be sure, their lives were not easy. They worked 10-hour shifts and 6-day weeks. Many were unprotected and even scorned by the unions (Gamio 1931:180). Despite the problems, more Mexicans immigrated to the Midwest, spurred on by the "success" of earlier immigrants.

During this period, Mexican immigrants generally had no intention of making Chicago their permanent home. Anita Jones reports that "Nearly everyone expects to return to his 'tierra' some day." At first, return migration rates were high; but, as was the case with other immigrants, gradually more remained in Chicago, supported by a growing number of compatriots. In these early days of Mexican settlement, the new immigrants needed groups outside the workplace in which they could find roles and relationships to cope with the stresses of living in a foreign environment. As a result, between 1928 and 1938 there were over 75 different Mexican organizations in South Chicago and East Chicago alone. (Felter 1941:32).

Most observers agreed that one of the most important institutions in the lives of early Mexican immigrants was the Catholic Church. At first, some Catholic Churches were very hesitant to admit Mexicans to their mostly white ethnic, European congregations. In 1928, for example, Our Lady of Guadalupe Church in South Chicago was built almost exclusively with Mexican money and labor in response to this situation. Eventually, the Church provided a major focal point for social activities and a school where Mexican children were educated. The Church became, according to Felter, "probably the institution most firmly woven into the social life of the Mexican community." (Felter:46).

Latinos began to make their mark on the City during this era. The period started with a trickle of immigrants from Mexico and ended with Latinos making important economic and social strides towards establishing themselves as the newest large immigrant group in Chicago's ethnic

mosaic. During the following few years, the hard-earned accomplishments of the early Mexican immigrants would be put to the test, as the country would suffer through the Depression years.

Community Transition, 1930-1960

The economic crisis of the Depression showed that Mexicans were seen mainly as a source of cheap labor during labor shortages, expendable by industry and government alike. The U.S. government, which only a few years earlier encouraged Mexicans to work in the Midwest, was now "repatriating" them. Thousands of Mexicans, including some who were American citizens, were rounded up in Chicago, East Chicago, and Gary and returned to Mexico through forced deportations, "voluntary departures," or Mexican-government assisted repatriation programs (Cardenas 1976:162). The result was a virtual halt to Mexican immigration and an outflow from Chicago of about 4000 Mexican-born residents. Many Mexicans, however, managed to weather the economic and social storm. A small number were able to take advantage of Roosevelt's New Deal programs and survived the difficult times relatively well (Garcia 1978:298).

As the economy picked up and the World War II effort began, Mexican labor was again recruited to the Chicago area. This time, however, the movement combined contract labor from Mexico and the internal migration of Mexicans from the Southwestern U.S. Also during this time, other Latino groups began to migrate to Chicago, primarly from Puerto Rico. Their reasons for migration resembled those of Mexicans. The agricultural base of the Puerto Rican economy was not sufficient to support the rapidly expanding population of the island. The advent of cheap air transportation made it easier for Puerto Ricans to travel northward. Many came as contract laborers recruited by employment agencies in Chicago with ties to Puerto Rico (Padilla 1947), (Alvarez 1946:2). Puerto Rican men came as laborers and the women primarily as domestics. Their wages were substantially below the prevailing wage among whites for similar work. (Alvarez: 4).

During World War II, most Latinos found work in the stepped-up production environment of Chicago's heavy industry. A few skilled Latinos began carving out a place in the booming economy. A small number operated their own businesses, primarily in Latino neighborhoods. More Latinos branched out into service occupations in the hotel and restaurant industries (Wilson 1944:18). Wartime demands for steel and food products kept factories working overtime. The labor demand exceeded the supply of workers. As a result, many Latino families were enjoying unprecedented standards of living; some had two or more workers per family and many benefited from the increased unionization of their workplaces.

Latino settlements expanded in this relatively prosperous era. There was plenty of work and more Mexicans, and now Puerto Ricans, were coming to Chicago to stay. While the Mexican colonias in the City expanded, more Mexicans settled in some of the satellite cities surrounding Chicago such as Aurora, Joliet, Cicero, Waukegan, and East Chicago, Indiana. In the case of Puerto Ricans, at first they settled in their own communities in the West Town and Humboldt Park areas on the near north side of Chicago (Farni:3).

Although the Wartime economy benefited Latinos, it was clear that most Latinos were being locked into low-paid positions with little opportunity for advancement. After the War, many Latinos lost their jobs or were demoted in favor of returning veterans. Latinos had established themselves in low-paid jobs, but relatively few obtained promotions as often happened among non-Latino workers.

During the 1950's, shortages in migrant agricultural labor meant that Latinos would again migrate to these jobs in the rural areas of the Midwest. Many migrants eventually obtained more stable

work in industries in and around the City of Chicago. At this time as well, a new phase of Latino immigration was underway. As immigration increased from Mexico and Puerto Rico, small numbers of Central Americans and South Americans made their way to Chicago.

As was the case earlier, the Mexican population again experienced efforts by the government to restrict the flow of immigration during periods of slow economic growth. During "Operation Wetback" in 1954, thousands of undocumented Mexican immigrants were apprehended in the Chicago area. This time, however, the decline in the population was less severe, as many more of Chicago's Latinos were U.S. citizens or legal residents.

The Puerto Rican population of Chicago continued to experience large increases. Before 1946, there were a reported 86 Puerto Ricans in Chicago (Padilla:18); by 1960 the Census Bureau reported 32,000 (Kitagawa and Taeuber 1963:19). In 1970, the Census reported 78,372 Puerto Ricans in Chicago, nearly a third of the City's Hispanic population (Department of Development and Planning 1973:8).

During the late 1950's and early 1960's substantial numbers of Latino immigrants from other nations came to Chicago. Prominent among these were Cubans, who first came to Chicago as a result of the Castro revolution. Most first settled in Florida, although later many came to Chicago. Their story has been one of relatively quick assimilation into American life. A substantial portion of the early Cuban immigrants were skilled workers and professionals, which eased the transition. Therefore, Cubans, on average, have the highest standard of living among Latino subgroups.

Latino Housing and Jobs in 1970

This section summarizes data from a report on Latinos, based on the 1970 Census, by the City of Chicago Department of Development and Planning (1973). According to this source, only 18 percent of Latinos in Chicago owned their homes, about half the level for non-Latinos. Latino home ownership was much higher in the suburbs (53 percent). The average value of Latino homes in the suburbs was close to the non-Latino level in the City. However, in the suburbs, the average non-Latino home was worth 21 percent more (page 19).

Eighty-two percent of Latinos in the City were renters. Latino dependence on the rental market was higher than the major Latino communities of San Antonio (38 percent), Houston (56 percent), or Los Angeles (69 percent), and was second only to New York (94 percent) (page 33). Latinos did not face an extremely high gross rent in the City, although the $110 monthly average was higher than the rent paid in most other large cities in 1970. In Chicago, the Latino rent levels were below the average for the City's non-Latino families, and fewer Latinos than non-Latinos paid more than a fourth of their income for rent, 31 percent compared with 39 percent (pages 33-35).

In 1970, one-fourth of Latino families, compared to only one non-Latino family in eleven, was living in a house with less than one room per person. Latinos were more likely to live in older housing; 79 percent of Latino renters in Chicago lived in housing that was more than 30 years old. Seventy percent of Latino homeowners had homes of the same vintage. Less than 2 percent of the renters and 1 percent of the owners were in new buildings (pages 31-36).

Chicago's Latino adults were more likely than average to be in the labor force in 1970. Adult males had an 84 percent participation rate. This was the highest rate of any large city with a significant Latino population, except Houston. The 6 percent unemployment rate among Latinos in Chicago was low compared to the high levels of the 1980s, and they earned incomes above the national Latino average (page 27).

The good news was tempered by other, more historically familiar, data. Chicago's Latino workers were not moving out of their traditional low-paid occupations. As of 1970, 51 percent remained in operative and laborer jobs, most of these consisting of entry-level industrial work. Latino concentration in these jobs was far above levels in other large cities and the nation. Less than 8 percent of Chicago's Latinos were in the professional and managerial categories. There was a heavy concentration in manufacturing (almost 57 percent of Latinos in the City and 53 percent in the suburbs) and a very low concentration in growing job categories. For example, less than 2 percent of Latinos in Chicago had government jobs. Unfortunately, Latinos seemed to be concentrated in jobs which were rapidly becoming a shrinking component of the labor market. In an ominous note, one national study of the 1970 Census data concluded that Latinos of Mexican background in Illinois had the highest average income and lowest unemployment of any State with a large percentage of Latinos, but the lowest average educational level (Jaffe 1980:138, 175-178).

The history of Latino communities in Chicago shows both periods of vibrant growth and severe setbacks -- changes strongly related to overall economic conditions. Although Latinos came to Chicago for many of the same reasons that brought other immigrants, from the beginning they encountered serious discrimination that limited their job opportunities and housing choices. These problems persisted, and in 1970 there were already clear indicators of the problems which would become apparent in the 1980s.

2. SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF LATINOS IN 1980

Latinos in the Chicago metropolitan area, on average, earn more than blacks and less than whites. Latinos are younger than both blacks and whites, and tend to have larger families. A disproportionate number of Latinos have only an elementary school education, and their dropout rates are higher than the rates for blacks or whites.

Because of the obvious relation between economic circumstances and life chances, income provides perhaps the best single indicator of Latinos' position in Chicago's socioeconomic structure. Individuals with higher incomes may have the option to move into different neighborhoods and obtain better schooling and public services. While the income of Latinos was above that of blacks in 1980, data on employment reveal the uncertainty of the group's position. Declining job opportunities in the manufacturing sector, where most of the Latino male labor force is employed, poses a barrier to economic advancement.

Education levels of Latinos contribute to the insecurity of their position. More than half of the Latino population has no more than an eighth grade education. With such low levels of attainment, Latinos will have difficulty finding jobs in expanding employment fields. At a time when education and job training are so crucial to economic advancement, a large percentage of Latinos are under 20 years old. Given this age structure, Latinos' ability to improve their socioeconomic position will increasingly depend on educational and job training programs.

Family structure and composition will also affect Latinos' socioeconomic position. Latino families are larger than white or black families; while women in other groups were having fewer children, the percentage of Latino women with young children remained high from 1970 to 1980. Both factors present special difficulties to Latino women wishing to enter the labor force.

The following sections describe in more detail the general economic and social characteristics of the Latino population in the Chicago metropolitan area.(1)

Income

According to the 1980 Census the median income of Latino families in the metropolitan area was $16,551. In the City of Chicago, where most of the Latino population is located, the median income of the group was $15,630. Since 1980, the recession has lowered the standard of living of most groups. Nevertheless, the 1980 income statistics provide a measure of the relative economic position of the Latino population. Employment statistics presented later will indicate how changes in the economy have affected Latinos in regard to jobs. When combined, the income, social, and employment data reveal some of the problems Latinos will face in the next few decades.

Table 2.1 presents the median income and poverty rates of the three groups for three geographic units. Latinos in the metropolitan area earned on average more than blacks and were less likely to live in poverty. The standard of living of both groups, however, was significantly lower than that of whites. Median family income of Latinos in the area was about $9000 below the white median and $3800 above the black median. Nineteen percent of the Latino population lived beneath the poverty line in 1979, compared to 6 percent of whites and 35 percent of blacks. When making such comparisons, however, a crucial variable is family size. Because Latino families were on the average larger, the per capita income of Latinos was lower in many cases than black or white families with similar incomes.

In the City of Chicago, income differences among the three groups were less striking than in the entire metropolitan area. At $15,630, Latino median family income in the City was 30 percent lower than the white median and

2.1 MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME AND PERCENT IN POVERTY, BY AREA OF RESIDENCE AND RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP, CHICAGO, 1979.

	Median Family Income			Percent in Poverty		
	Latinos	White	Blacks	Latinos	Whites	Blacks
Metropolitan Area	$16,551	$25,664	$12,716	20	6	35
City of Chicago	$15,630	$22,178	$13,724	24	11	32
Suburbs*	$19,879	$23,380	$17,659	16	6	23

SOURCE: 1980 U.S. Census Summary Tape 3 Tabulations. *Suburbs with Significant Latino Populations Listed in Appendix, Table 10.

12 percent greater than the black median. Twenty-four percent of Latinos, 32 percent of blacks, and 11 percent of whites in the City were impoverished. While black families in Chicago were more likely than Latinos to earn less than $10,000 per year, they were also more likely to earn over $35,000. Thirty percent of Latino families had 1979 incomes below $10,000, compared with 38 percent of blacks and 16 percent of whites; whereas, 8 percent of Latino families, 11 percent of black families, and 21 percent of white families had incomes over $35,000.

Within the City, Latino income varied considerably. In South Chicago, the Latino income was 30 percent above the Latino City-wide average in 1979. Since the 1980 Census, however, there have been massive layoffs in this area. In the Logan Square, Humboldt Park, and West Town Areas, where the Latino population is predominantly Puerto Rican, median Latino incomes were 17 percent below the City's Latino average. Further north, in Lincoln Square, where many Central and South Americans have settled, Latino incomes were 14 percent above the City's Latino average. (See Appendix, Table 8).

While other studies have shown that communities become poorer as the percentage of minority residents increases, this pattern was not found in the City's Latino neighborhoods. The percent of the Latino population living in poverty was close to the group's City average both in areas with few Latinos and in the barrios, or areas of high concentration. Twenty-two percent of the Latino population was impoverished in census tracts which were 20 to 30 percent Latino; in tracts with 70-80 percent Latino, 23 percent of the group lived in poverty. (See Appendix, Table 9).

Despite considerable economic diversity within Latino communities, there were no economically devastated, all-poor communities. The general economic position of the City's Latinos deteriorated, however, during the last decade. Median income of Latino families in 1970 was $8,369 ($16,625 in 1979 dollars). By 1979, real income had declined 6 percent to $15,630. The decline in black income between 1970 and 1979, was more dramatic. Median income for black families in 1970, adjusted to 1979 dollars, was $15,660. Over the decade the real income of blacks declined by 12 percent.

The average income of a City population declines not only as the City's inhabitants become poorer, but also as the wealthier individuals leave for the suburbs. Between 1970 and 1980 the number of Latinos reported living in the suburbs doubled. Like other groups in the suburbs, Latino surburbanites have higher incomes, and are less likely to live in poverty than those living in the City. In the suburbs with the highest Latino concentrations, Latino families received $4200 more (21 percent) than Latinos living in the City in 1979. Sixteen percent of suburban Latinos lived in poverty, compared with 24 percent in the City.

Because the suburbs where Latinos have

settled are among the poorest in the suburban ring, whites residing in them had incomes only sightly higher than those of City whites. In 1979, the average difference in income between white and Latino families in these municipalities was only $2800, compared with $6500 in the City and $9000 in the entire metropolitan area. Blacks, like Latinos, were doing much better in these municipalities than in the City. Black median income in the municipalities with high Latino concentrations was 29 percent above the City-wide black median. The income difference between blacks and Latinos in the suburbs was about the same as the income difference in the City. In the suburbs Latinos received about 11 percent more income than blacks. (See Appendix, Tables 8, 10).

According to the Illinois Department of Public Aid, about one-fifth of the residents of Chicago have recently received some form of public assistance. (2) High concentrations of recipients are located in a few of the City's communities, and in other areas, virtually no one receives benefits. Black neighborhoods have the highest percentage of residents on public assistance. In the Oakland, Grand Boulevard, and Washington Park communities, which are all over 90 percent black, 71 percent, 62 percent, and 59 percent of the total population, respectively, received aid. In Latino neighborhoods, a much smaller proportion of the total population received public assistance: 13 percent of the Pilsen population (which is 78 percent Latino) and 10 percent of the Little Village population (74 percent Latino). Nevertheless, in both Pilsen and Little Village, over 20 percent of the Latino population is impoverished.

Regarding Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), data from the Illinois Public Aid Department show that 9 percent of the Cook County population received benefits from the federally and state-funded AFDC program: 4 percent of whites, 26 percent of blacks, and 11 percent of Latinos. Most recipients (69 percent) are children under age 18 in families with one or both parents absent. Seventy-five percent of all Cook County recipients are black, 12 percent are white, and 11 percent are Latino.

Age

In 1980, the median age of the Latino population in the Chicago metropolitan area was about two years less than the median age of the black population and ten years less than the white population. In the City of Chicago, Latinos had a median age of 22.2 years, compared with 24.9 years for blacks and 38.7 years for whites. (See Table 2.2).

2.2 MEDIAN AGE BY RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP, CHICAGO, 1980

	Latinos	Whites	Blacks
Metropolitan Area	22.2	32.6	24.2
City of Chicago	22.2	38.7	24.9
Suburbs*	21.0	31.4	23.3

SOURCE: 1980 U.S. Census Summary 3 Tabulations. *Listed in Appendix, Table 10.

In 1980, 44 percent of Latinos were younger than 20 years, compared with 20 percent of whites and 38 percent of blacks. Only 3 percent of Latinos were over 65, but 18 percent of whites and 7 percent of blacks fell in this category. (See Appendix, Table 11). Within the Latino population, the Mexican and Puerto Rican subgroups had the youngest median age. Cubans, with a median age of 32.8 years, were as old as the white population in the metropolitan area. While 14 percent of the City population was Latino, 24 percent of the population under 20 years old was Latino. Whites, who made up 43 percent of the City's population, comprised only 28 percent of the population less than 20 years old. Among persons 65 years and older, 3 percent was Latino, 70 percent was white, and 25 percent black.

In 1970, 44 percent of the population

under 14 in the City was black; by 1980 the black representation in this category had decined to 35 percent. In contrast, Latinos, who comprised 11 percent of the population under 14 in 1970, comprised 21 percent of this age group by 1980.(3)

Family Composition

In 1980, Latino families in the metropolitan area were much more likely than black or white families to have school-age children: 72 percent of Latino families had children under 18, compared with 47 percent of white families and 63 percent of black families. In the City, 72 percent of Latino families, 62 percent of black families, and 35 percent of white families had children under 18. (Table 2.3)

Latino families also tended to be larger than white or black families. In the metropolitan area the Latino family had an average (mean number) of 4.1 members, compared with 3.8 in black families, and 3.2 in white families. For both whites and Latinos, families living in the suburbs were larger than City families; among blacks, the largest families live in the City.

According to 1970 and 1980 Census data, the percentage of white and black married couples with children declined. Latino married couples, however, were about as likely in 1980 as in 1970 to have children. In 1970, 27 percent of white married couples had children under 6; by 1980 this had declined to 21 percent, and 48 percent now had children under 18. Thirty-three percent of black married-couples had children under 6 in 1970; in 1980, 26 percent had young children. Among Latino couples, 49 percent had children under 6 in 1970, while in 1980 the figure was 47 percent. Seventy-six percent of Latino couples had children under 18 in 1970, compared with 74 percent in 1980.

In 1980, most Latino children under 18 were living in households with a married couple present. In the metropolitan area, 71 percent of Latino children lived in married-couple families, compared with 38 percent of blacks and 84 percent of whites. In the City of Chicago, the percentage of Latino children in married-couple families was slightly lower. Sixty-eight percent of Latino children, 35 percent of black children, and 77 percent of white children lived in families with a married couple present. (See Table 2.4).

2.3 PERCENT OF FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN BY AREA OF RESIDENCE AND AGE OF CHILDREN, ACCORDING TO RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP, CHICAGO, 1980.

	Percent of Families		
	Latino	White	Black
Metropolitan Area			
With Children Under 6	44	19	28
With Children Under 18	72	47	63
City of Chicago			
With Children Under 6	44	14	27
With Children Under 18	72	35	62
Suburbs*			
With Children Under 6	46	28	34
With Children Under 18	78	48	69

SOURCE: 1980 U.S. Census Summary Tape 3 Tabulations. *Listed in Appendix, Table 10

2.4 PERCENT MARRIED COUPLE AND FEMALE HOUSEHOLDER FAMILIES BY AREA OF RESIDENCE, ACCORDING TO RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP, CHICAGO, 1980.

	Percent of Families		
	Latino	White	Black
Metropolitan Area			
Married Couples	74	86	51
Female Householder	18	12	43
City of Chicago			
Married Couples	71	77	49
Female Householder	21	17	45
Suburbs*			
Married Couples	81	82	57
Female Householder	13	13	38

SOURCE: 1980 U.S. Census Summary Tape 3 Tabulations. *Listed in Appendix, Table 10

In metropolitan Chicago, Latino families were half as likely as Black families and 50 percent more likely than white families to have a woman as solely responsible for the household. Eighteen percent of Latino families, 43 percent of black families, and 12 percent of white families had this situation, which we have called "female householder." In the municipalities outside the City that have significant Latino populations, the proportion of female householder familes was slightly lower. Thirteen percent of Latino families, 13 percent of white families, and 38 percent of black families had female householders.

Latino families with female householders were more likely to have young children than black and white families in similar circumstances. In the City of Chicago 39 percent of Latino female-householder families had young children, compared with 31 percent of black and 11 percent of white female-householder families. However, both Latino and white female-householder families were less likely than married-couple families to have young children. For blacks, female-householder families were more likely than those headed by a married couple to have children. Among the Latino subgroups, Mexican families were least likely to have female-householders: 14 percent, compared with 15 percent of Cuban families, and 30 percent of Puerto Rican families.

The number of female-householder families had great impact on the socioeconomic status of all groups. In the City of Chicago, 40 percent of all families headed by women were in poverty, compared with 17 percent of families in general. More than half the female-householder families with children were impoverished, compared with 25 percent of all families with children.

The percentage of female-householder families increased for Latinos, blacks, and whites during the last decade. The number of such households increased by 68 percent among Latinos; the increase for blacks was 44 percent and for whites, 18 percent. Because of the association between female-householder families and poverty, these trends must be considered in any analysis of a group's socioeconomic status.

Summary

In 1980, Latinos in the Chicago Metropolitan area were significantly younger and lived in larger families than either whites or blacks. Latino families were more likely than black or white families to have young school-age children. Their incomes, while somewhat higher than black family incomes, were significantly lower than white incomes. There seemed to be less concentrated poverty in heavily Latino inner-city barrios than in black ghettos. In the suburban satellite cities, incomes were higher and fewer Latinos lived in poverty.

Proportionately fewer Latinos than blacks received public assistance. Overall, Latinos did not seem to use public assistance at rates that reflected their levels of poverty. Fewer inner-city Latino children lived in single-parent female-householder homes than was the case for blacks, but more so compared with whites. It is crucial to note, however, that Latino numbers in this category have been rising at a greater rate than for other groups.

3. RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION

Understanding housing and employment problems requires that we know where Latinos live, and in what concentrations. This chapter presents basic data from the 1980 Census, in this regard. In general, our research shows a growing Latino population in the City as well as in suburban areas. For example, the Latino population of South Chicago is actually part of a larger concentration that crosses the state line into Northern Indiana. To obtain a full, accurate picture of Latino residential distribution we have included suburbs in the Chicago metropolitan area, as well as Lake and Porter counties in Indiana, which contain the cities of Hammond, Gary, and East Chicago--all of which have significant Latino populations.

Chicago Metropolitan Area

In the combined Gary and Chicago metropolitan area there were a total of 627,230 Latinos in 1980, comprising 8 percent of the population. Ninety percent lived in the Illinois section of the region. (Table 3.1). In the Illinois part of the Chicago-Gary metropolitan region, Latinos lived predominantly in the City of Chicago. Chicago was 14 percent Latino, compared with 4 percent of the suburbs, and 8 percent of the entire Chicago metropolitan area. The Latino population increased considerably between 1970 and 1980: by 71 percent in the City, 99 percent in the suburbs, and 78 percent in the entire metropolitan area. (4) (Table 3.2). By 1983, the Latino population of the City of Chicago had grown to an estimated total of 526,000 persons or 17 percent of the total population. (Latino Institute, LIDER 1983:1-2).

In the Chicago-Gary metropolitan region, the distribution of the four Latino subgroups defined by the 1980 Census closely resembled that of the national Latino population. Mexicans accounted for 64 percent of the region's Latino population. (See Table 3.3). Puerto Ricans accounted for 22 percent, "other" Latinos (predominantly Central and South Americans) acounted for 11 percent, and Cubans for 3 percent.

Metropolitan Counties

The majority of Latinos in the region were concentrated in Cook County, Illinois: 80 percent of the entire region's Latinos, accounting for 10 percent of the County's population. The distribution of Latino subgroup populations in the County resembled that of the entire metropolitan region: 62 percent Mexican, 23 percent Puerto Rican, 3 percent Cuban, and 11 percent other Latino. The remainder of Latinos in the metropolitan region were distributed fairly evenly over the other 7 Counties. Lake County, Indiana was 8 percent Latino, and 7 percent of the region's Latinos resided there. (See Appendix, Table 1).

Each Latino subgroup in the Chicago-Gary metropolitan region was concentrated in Cook County: 77 percent of the Mexicans, 85 percent of the Puerto Ricans, 87 percent of the Cubans, and 80 percent of the other Latinos. Lake County, Indiana accounted for many of the Mexicans (8 percent) and Puerto Ricans (7 percent) not living in Cook County. The remainder of the Cubans and other Latinos were spread over the other 7 Counties fairly evenly. (See Appendix, Table 2).

City of Chicago

The City of Chicago, home for more than two-thirds of the region's Latinos, is divided into 77 community areas of varying size. Ten of these community areas accounted for 71 percent of the City's Latino population, and 5 accounted for 52 percent. Three communities--South Lawndale (Little Village), West Town, and Logan Square--each had over 10 percent of the City's Latino population. (See Appendix, Table 3).

The community areas varied considerably in their ethnic composition: 22 of the 77 communities had at least 10 percent Latinos in their population (See

3.1 LATINO POPULATION, CHICAGO-GARY METROPOLITAN AREA

Metropolitan Area	Total Population	Latino	Percent Latino	Percent of All Latinos
Chicago	7,103,624	580,609	8	93
Gary	642,781	46,621	7	7
Total	7,746,405	627,230	8	100

SOURCE: 1980 Census Summary Tape 3 Tabulations.

3.2 ETHNIC/RACIAL COMPOSITION AND POPULATION CHANGE BY AREA OF RESIDENCE, CHICAGO, 1970-1980.

	Latino	White	Black
Percentage of Population:			
Metropolitan Area	8	69	20
City of Chicago	14	43	40
Suburbs*	4	90	6
Percent Change, 1970-1980:			
Metropolitan Area	+78	- 8	+16
City of Chicago	+71	-32	+80
Suburbs*	+99	+7	+80

SOURCE: 1980 Census Summary Tape 3 Tabulation and 1970 Characteristics of Population. *See Appendix, Table 10.

3.3 COMPOSTION OF LATINO POPULATION BY SUBGROUPS IN THE CHICAGO-GARY METROPOLITAN REGION, 1980.

Metropolitan Area	All Latinos	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Cuban	Other Latinos
Chicago	100	63	22	3	12
Gary	100	70	21	1	8
Total	100	64	22	3	11

SOURCE: 1980 Census Summary Tape 3 Tabulations.

Appendix, Table 3). These communities ranged from 78 percent Latino in the Lower West Side (Pilsen) to under 20 percent in areas such as Gage Park and Austin. The average for the 22 communities was 32 percent Latino, and 86 percent of the City's Latinos lived there. In general, the 22 communities were located on the North, Near Northwest, Near Southwest, and Southeast sides of the City map.

Latino Subgroups in the City of Chicago

Mexicans made up the largest portion of Chicago's Latino population. They accounted for much of the population of the community areas with significant Latino concentrations. Mexicans constituted at least 50 percent of the Latino population in most of the 22 community areas studied, and in some areas they account for 90 percent or more of the community's Latinos (Pilsen and South Deering). Mexicans, in turn, were concentrated in three areas: Little Village (20 percent of the City's Mexicans), Pilsen (18 percent), and West Town (9 percent).

The City's Puerto Ricans were also concentrated in a few communities: West Town accounted for 25 percent, Logan Square 21 percent, and Humboldt Park 16 percent. Most of the areas with large numbers of Puerto Ricans were between one-third and one-half Puerto Rican, except Humboldt Park, whose Latino population was 62 percent Puerto Rican.

Cubans were not as concentrated in any particular community. Only 14 percent of the City's Cuban population lived in Logan Square, and 13 percent in Edgewater on the Northside. Not more than 8 percent of the City's Cuban population lived in any other community area.

Central and South Americans were the most evenly distributed of the Latino subgroups. Not more than 8 percent of this group lived in a single community area, and 13 of the 22 community areas had at least 2 percent of the Central and South American population. Lincoln Square on the Northside is the community with the highest concentration: 38 percent of the Latino population. The remainder of the community areas had between 2 and 31 percent Central and South Americans, and most of these were from 10 to 20 percent.

Latino Sectors in Chicago

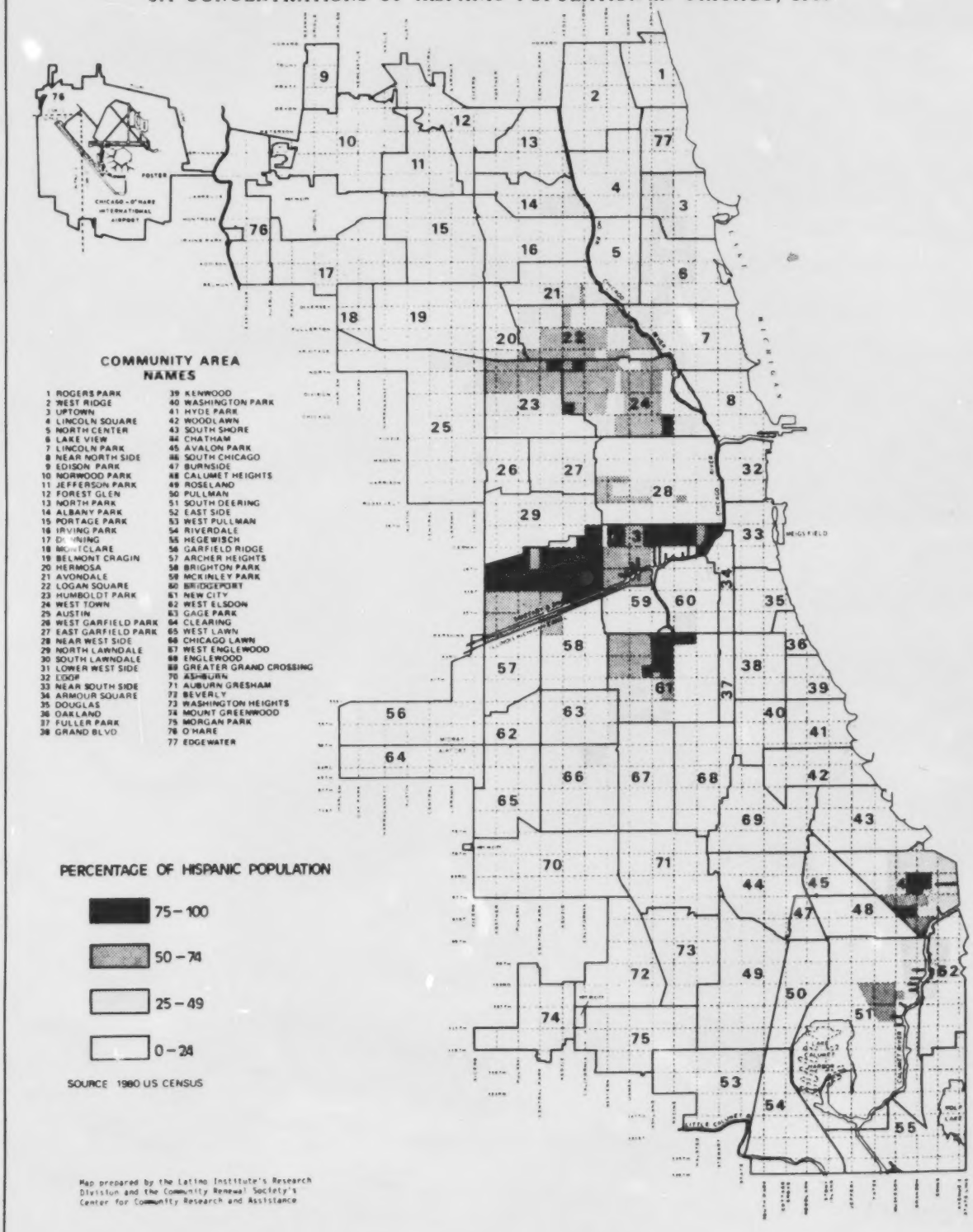
Many of the 22 community areas we studied were on the North, near Northwest, near Southwest, and Southeast sides of the City. This shows that Latino settlement areas have expanded beyond community boundaries as historically defined. For this presentation, we have defined five major sectors: West Town, Pilsen, Far North Side, Back of the Yards, and South Chicago. (See Table 3.5).

The West Town sector was the largest of these Latino Sectors: 133,494 Latinos lived there, or 32 percent of the Latinos in Chicago. The Latinos were mostly Puerto Rican (55 percent) and Mexican (37 percent). However, the area seemed to contain a mix of all Latino groups, since at least one-fifth of all the Latino groups in Chicago live there.

The Pilsen-Little Village sector was also one of the largest Latino areas in the City: 22 percent of all Latinos in the City lived there. This sector was 75 percent Latino, the highest proportion of Latinos in any sector of the City. It is predominantly Mexican, as 92 percent of the Latino population was Mexican, and it accounts for a third of the Mexicans in the City.

The South Chicago sector on the Southeast side of the City had a Latino population which extended into Northwestern Indiana. This sector was 30 percent Latino and was predominantly Mexican (89 percent). Back of the Yards, on Chicago's near southwest side was predominately Mexican (87 percent) and was 31 percent Latino, with 6 percent of the City's Latinos living there.

3.4 CONCENTRATIONS OF HISPANIC POPULATION IN CHICAGO, 1980



3.5 SECTORS OF LATINO POPULATION, CHICAGO, 1980.

Sector	Latino Population	Percent Latino	Percent of all Latinos in Chicago
West Town (West Town, Humboldt Park, Logan Square)	133,494	50	32
Pilsen (Pilsen, Little Village, Near West Side)	90,567	75	22
North Side (Uptown, Lakeview)	40,001	20	10
Back of Yards (Back of Yards, Gage Park)	26,529	31	6
South Side (South Chicago, South Deering)	25,670	30	6
Sector Population	316,261	42	75
City of Chicago	422,063	14	100

SOURCE: 1980 Census Summary 3 Tape Tabulations.

Other Municipalities

Outside of the City there were 20 other communities in Illinois and Northern Indiana with significant Latino populations; that is, at least 5 percent of their total population (see map 3.6). None of these municipalities had over 3 percent of the Latinos in the metropolitan region, confirming the high concentrations in Chicago. However, considered all together, places outside Chicago had one third of the Latinos in the Chicago-Gary metropolitan region. Some of these municipalities had Latinos as a considerable portion of their populations. East Chicago, Indiana was 42 percent Latino, Aurora was 18 percent Latino, and Waukegan was 15 percent Latino. Some small municipalities also had high proportions of Latinos, such as Summit (20 percent) and Blue Island (16 percent). The 21 municipalities (including Chicago) account for 84 percent of the Chicago-Gary region's Latinos. (See Appendix, Table 7).

Mexican Americans comprised a substantial portion of the Latino populations in the 21 municipalities we studied. They were more than 60 percent of a municipality's Latino population in all but 2 cases (Gary and North Chicago). In some cases they were as much as 96 percent. In most municipalities, Mexicans made up about three-fourths of the Latino population.

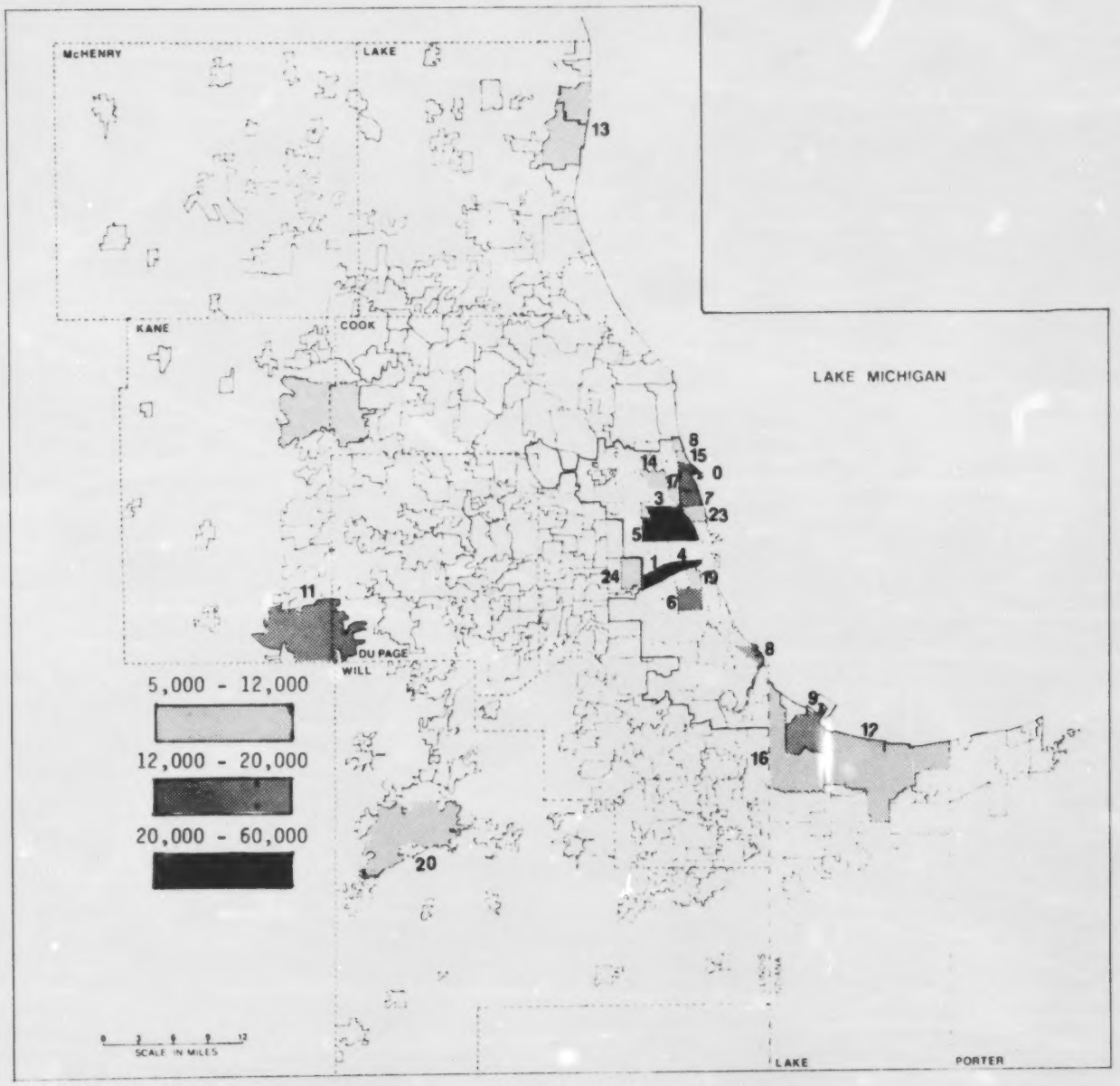
Puerto Ricans were concentrated in Chicago: 83 percent of region's Puerto Ricans lived there and they comprised 27 percent of the City's Latino population. No other municipality had over 3 percent of the region's Puerto Ricans, although the Puerto Rican share of the Latino community in some of them was high. This was true for Gary, whose Latino population was 32 percent Puerto Rican; North Chicago (27.6 percent), and Waukegan (27 percent).

Other Latino subgroups were more difficult to study at the municipality level because the Census Bureau does not report small numbers of Latino subgroups in many municipalities. This results from a suppression of data on summary tapes in order to safeguard the confidentiality of Census material. For example, Cubans were reported in only 2 municipalities.

Two-thirds of the Chicago-Gary region's Cubans lived in Chicago. Melrose Park is one community where a significant number of Cubans were reported by the Census. Its Latino population was 16 percent Cuban. Of the 21 municipalities, 9 had a Central and South American population of

3.6 METROPOLITAN CHICAGO AND NORTHWEST INDIANA MUNICIPALITIES, AND CHICAGO COMMUNITY AREAS* WITH MORE THAN 5000 LATINOS.

1. South Lawndale*
2. West Town*
3. Logan Square*
4. Lower West Side*
5. Humboldt Park*
6. New City*
7. Lake View*
8. South Chicago*
9. East Chicago, Indiana
10. Uptown*
11. Aurora
12. Gary, Indiana
13. Waukegan
14. Albany Park*
15. Edgewater*
16. Hammond, Indiana
17. North Center*
18. Rogers Park*
19. Bridgeport*
20. Joliet
21. Elgin
22. Hermosa*
23. Lincoln Park*
24. Cicero



over 400; 61 percent of this group lived in Chicago, while 7 percent was evenly distributed over the other 8 municipalities. In two places, they make up a substantial portion of the Latino population: North Chicago (25 percent) and Waukegan (11 percent).

Summary

In 1980, Latinos in the Chicago-Gary Metropolitan region were residing primarily in the City of Chicago and in a few municipalities. Their share of the population of these municipalities varied considerably. Latinos also lived in sectors of the City of Chicago that extended into the surrounding suburbs. The West side population extended into the suburbs south of O'Hare Airport, and the South Side Latinos continue settlement into Northern Indiana.

The Chicago-Gary metropolitan region's Latino population has grown significantly since 1970 and the boundaries of concentrated Latino settlement have expanded. In some cases, older Latino communities have spread across boundaries into adjacent suburbs. In other cases, particularly with the smaller groups of Cubans and Central and South Americans, a substantial portion have dispersed into communities where few Latinos live. Many have settled in predominantly white suburban areas, in a pattern quite distinct from that of the majority of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. The statistics presented demonstrate the magnitude of Latino settlements in metropolitan Chicago, the great and continuing importance of the City for Latinos, and the complex evolution and expansion of distinct communities from various nationalities within the Latino population.

4. RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION

In 1970, segregation of Latinos in Chicago was not as high as for blacks, but it was beyond the level experienced by European immigrants. Among major U.S. cities with large Latino populations, only New York City was more segregated (Massey 1979:553-563). The 1970 Census also showed Latinos living primarily in areas where earlier Latino generations had settled.

Calculations from the 1980 Census showed that blacks in Chicago were heavily segregated from both whites and Latinos, and Latinos were less segregated from whites than were blacks. In suburban places, Latinos and blacks have become more integrated with each other and more segregated from an overwhelmingly white suburban population. To compute measures of segregation, mutually exclusive groups are formed from Census data for blacks, whites, and Latinos. The initial section of this chapter focuses on the residential segregation of Latinos as a group. The second section presents the differing segregation patterns of Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans.

Measures of Segregation

"Complete integration" refers to the even distribution of blacks, whites, and Latinos on each block. For complete integration to take place, each residential block would be inhabited by the same proportions of whites, blacks, and Latinos in the City and metropolitan area. "Complete segregation" is the lack of residential intermixture of the groups in area blocks. If complete segregation were the case, each block in a city or metropolitan area would be inhabited either by all Latinos, all blacks, or all whites. For a more detailed explanation of the following measures of segregation, see Appendix, entry 12.

The "index of dissimilarity" shows the minimum percentage of either of two groups that would have to relocate to different blocks for the two groups to become completely integrated. Whites and blacks were just as segregated across the City of Chicago in 1980 as they were in 1970, with an index of dissimilarity of over 93. Over 93 percent of blacks or whites would have to relocate to different City blocks to achieve complete integration. Latinos were just as segregated from blacks in Chicago as were whites in 1980, with an index of dissimilarity of 91. Chicago Latinos were less segregated from whites: to achieve integration, at least two thirds of Latinos or whites would have to relocate to new city blocks. (See Table 4.1).

4.1 INDEXES OF RESIDENTIAL DISSIMILARITY FOR WHITES, BLACKS AND LATINOS IN 1980.

	Chicago City	Suburbs	Metropolitan Area
White/Black	93	85	92
White/Latino	66	62	70
Black/Latino	91	78	89

SOURCE: 1980 Census, Summary Tape File 1B Tabulations. Interpretation: A score of 0 denotes complete integration, a score of 100 denotes complete segregation. Intermediate scores give the percentage of either group in the pair who would have to move in order to achieve a completely even residential pattern of the two groups across all city blocks.

Whereas Latinos were just as segregated from whites in the suburbs of Chicago as they were in the City, black/Latino segregation dropped the most from City to suburbs, with the black/white index falling somewhat as well.

The "exposure index" shows the proportion white in the typical block of the Latino. This index, unlike the index of dissimilarity, takes population proportions into account to measure segregation. It makes possible a comparison between the likely rate of contact with different group members of Latinos and blacks on their typical blocks of residence. The "typical" block of a group is the average population

composition of all blocks in which at least one member of the group resides.

For the metropolitan Chicago area, the typical block of the Latino was 45 percent Latino, 45 percent white, 8 percent black. The typical block of the metropolitan black was 87 percent black, 9 percent white, and 3 percent Latino. In Chicago, the typical block of the Latino was 53 percent Latino, 36 percent white, and 7 percent black. The typical block of the Chicago black was 92 percent black, 5 percent white, and 3 percent Latino. In the suburban areas the typical block of the Latino was 23 percent Latino, 67 percent white, and 8 percent black. The typical black suburbanite's block was 62 percent black, 31 percent white, and 5 percent Latino.

Latino Subgroups

As shown in Table 4.2, Puerto Ricans were more segregated from whites than were Mexicans in metropolitan Chicago. Whereas the index of Puerto Rican dissimilarity with whites in metropolitan Chicago in 1980 was 85, the Mexican/white index was 74. This means that almost three-fourths of Mexicans or whites in the Chicago area would have to relocate to different blocks for these groups to become fully integrated. Because there were fewer Cubans than residental blocks in the geographic areas considered, their index of dissimilarity was not a valid measure. However, exposure indexes for the metropolitan area as a whole showed that Cubans lived on blocks that were about two-thirds (64 percent) white.

In Chicago, the typical block of the Cuban was 56 percent white--much higher than the 34 percent in typical blocks of the Puerto Rican and Mexican. In suburban areas, the typical blocks of Mexican and Puerto Rican residence were each about two-thirds white, while the typical suburban Cuban residential block was about four-fifths white. The typical block of the Chicago Cuban was 5 percent Cuban, but 9 percent Mexican, 6 percent Puerto Rican and 3 percent Central and South American. The typical block of the Mexican was 38 percent Mexican, 6 percent Puerto Rican, and 2 percent other Latino. The typical block of the Chicago Puerto Rican was 27 percent Puerto Rican, 18 percent Mexican, 1 percent Cuban, and 3 percent other Latino.

For 1980, few comparative statistics were available on Latino segregation patterns in major metropolitan areas outside of Chicago. However, calculations from metropolitan Houston, Phoenix, and Denver showed that segregation levels in Chicago were higher than in these cities. (See Table 4.3). Research from these cities shows that Latinos continue living in highly segregated areas, and are far more likely than whites to live in Census tracts with significant black populations. All four metropolitan areas had a segregated

4.2 INDEXES OF RESIDENTIAL DISSIMILARITY FOR WHITES AND LATINO SUBGROUPS IN CHICAGO, 1980.

	Chicago City	Suburbs	Metropolitan Area
White/Mexican	70	69	74
White/Puerto Rican	76	*	85

SOURCE: 1980 Census, Summary Tape 1B Tabulations. *Too few Puerto Ricans lived in the Suburban areas to provide a valid index of dissimilarity.

4.3 COMPOSITION OF THE TYPICAL CENSUS TRACT OCCUPIED BY LATINOS, 1980.

Metropolitan Area	Group Percentages Latino	White	Black
Chicago	40	50	10
Houston	35	51	12
Denver	28	64	5
Phoenix	33	57	6

SOURCE: Calculations from 1980 Census Summary Tapes and James,F.: 1983

pattern in which Latinos lived in areas with proportions higher than the metropolitan average, more than twice the percentage expected on a random basis. The most extreme case was metropolitan Chicago, where Latinos typically lived in Census tracts with almost five times as many Latinos as would be expected under an equal distribution of racial and ethnic groups. Chicago has long been a national leader in residential segregation of blacks. The data presented show a similar rating relative to Latinos.

Summary

Analysis of dissimilarity indexes and exposure rates for Chicago and suburban areas shows a similar pattern: Latinos and whites were equally segregated from blacks in 1980. Latinos were less segregated from whites than were blacks. In suburban areas, Latinos and blacks were more integrated with each other than in the City and more segregated from a predominantly white population. Both in the Chicago and suburban areas, Cubans typically resided with many more whites than either Mexicans or Puerto Ricans. While Mexican and Puerto Rican segregation from whites was about the same level in Chicago, Puerto Ricans were more segregated from whites in suburban areas than were Mexicans. Census tract data for the Phoenix, Denver, and Houston metropolitan areas showed similar results, with Chicago having higher levels of Latino segregation.

5. HOUSING CONDITIONS

Housing is an extremely important issue for the expanding Latino communities. Latinos are far below the City and metropolitan averages in home ownership, yet differences in group income do not fully explain these lower levels. The rental units in which most Latino famiies live are far older and more crowded than the average. Latino communities are losing rental housing units and have experienced very little new construction. Latinos have positive opinions of their neighborhoods. Their housing situation, however, suggests a high degree of vulnerability as the Latino population increases in areas with declining housing stock.

Home Ownership

Although the Latino rate of home ownership increased approximately 25 percent between 1970 and 1980, it was still far below the metropolitan area average. The 1980 Census showed that home ownership was 46 percent below the average Chicago metropolitan rate for the total population. Latinos in the City of Chicago also had an ownership rate 37 percent below the City average. (See Table 5.1).

Income generally plays a role in access to the housing market. According to the 1975 Annual Housing Survey for Chicago (the most recent data available), homeowners had far more income than renters. (5) In 1975, 56 percent of the Chicago metropolitan population owned a house. These homeowners made an average income of $18,300. The percentage of Latinos who owned a home was 52 percent below the metropolitan ownership rate. (See Table 5.2) In Chicago, Latino ownership rates were 45 percent below average. Not surprisingly, income for Latino homeowners, was only 3 percent below average. The suburbs had the same pattern with a 39 percent discrepancy in homeownership for only a 6 percent income difference.

Other factors accounting for low ownership rates could be the youth and the larger family size of the Chicago Latino population. Some Latinos, of course, consider themselves temporary residents and are not interested in home ownership, while others may not be legally documented. Recent high interest rates, high construction and land costs, lack of equity, little knowledge of the housing market, or credit and insurance discrimination may also partially explain the low ownership rates.

Rental Market Problems

The amount of rental housing in Chicago has declined in recent years. During the 1970-80 period, newly constructed units in Chicago increased by 4 percent while 5 percent of the housing stock was demolished. Most new construction consisted of buildings having over eight units, and was heavily concentrated along the north lakefront. These buildings were primarily condominiums at upper-middle income or luxury price levels. Demolition, on the other hand, has primarily consisted of 2-4 flat rental units.

All of the eight community areas of the city with at least 31 percent Latino population experienced a decrease in housing units from 1970 to 1980. Statistics from the Chicago Department of Inspectional Services show that most of the demolished units were 2-4 flat rentals units. West Town and Humboldt Park experienced the highest amount of demolition (9 percent and 7 percent respectively); this was reflected in a decrease in their total number of housing units.

Once moderately-priced rental units are either demolished, rehabilitated, or converted to condominiums, housing opportunities for Latinos diminish. An example of this can be seen in the Lincoln Park community area. A large Latino population (24 percent) was found in this area in 1970, but because of rehabilitation and increased housing costs, the Latino population had decreased by 64 percent by 1980. As the

5.1 HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS BY RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP FOR SELECTED AREAS OF CHICAGO, 1980.

		Latino	White	Black	Average
City of Chicago					
Percent:	Homeowner	24	48	31	38
	Renter	76	52	69	62
Average:	Owned Unit	$38,200	$53,100	$36,400	$44,300
	Monthly Rent	$166	$212	$178	$198
Metropolitan Area					
Percent:	Homeowner	31	66	34	57
	Renter	69	34	66	43
Average:	Owned Unit	$49,500	$68,100	$38,000	$60,600
	Monthly Rent	$174	$244	$182	$226
Suburbs*					
Percent:	Homeowner	40	63	47	
	Renter	59	37	53	
Average:	Owned Unit	$50,964	$55,452	$46,433	
	Monthly Unit	$217	$229	$220	

SOURCE: 1980 Census as tabulated by Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission. Metropolitan and City overall averages were calculated on a weighted basis, using Latino, black, and white proportions. *Selected Municipalities.

5.2 MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME AND HOME OWNERSHIP BY RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP FOR SELECTED AREAS OF CHICAGO, 1975.

	Latino	Black	All Groups
City			
Median Income	$14,400	$13,200	$14,900
Percent Homeowner	21	30	38
Metropolitan Area			
Median Income	$16,400	$13,400	$18,300
Percent Homeowner	27	33	56
Suburbs			
Median Income	$18,600	$14,100	$19,800
Percent Homeowner	44	53	72

SOURCE: 1975 Annual Housing Survey in Chicago.

housing supply goes down and the demand created by a rapidly growing population increases, rents will increase, affecting Latinos as a group probably more than blacks or whites. Since Latinos in Chicago already spend approximately one third of their income on rent, any future rapid increase in rental costs will have serious effects on their financial situation.

Chicago's Latinos live in rental units with less living space per person than blacks or whites. In this study, rooms per person, calculated from 1980 Census figures, is used to measure living space. Absolute size of housing units varied little between groups and areas. (Table 5.3) Statistics for the metropolitan area show the average person had 2.0 rooms of living space. Latinos in particular, averaged 1.3 rooms per person, or 35 percent below the average. Compared with whites, Latinos averaged a full room less per person. Compared with blacks, Latinos had half a room less per person. City statistics show an average living space of 1.7 rooms per person. Latinos had 1.2 rooms per person or 30 percent less living space, and again had less space than both blacks and whites. In surrounding municipalities, Latinos had 1.2 rooms per person, whites had 1.9 rooms per person, and blacks 1.4 rooms per person.

Age of Structure

Statistics from the 1975 Annual Housing Survey show that Latinos were the group most likely to live in housing built before 1940. In the Chicago Metropolitan area, 34 percent of all homes were built before 1940. Of Latino homes, 66 percent were built before 1940--almost double the metropolitan average. In Chicago, Latinos also had the highest percentage of houses built before 1940: 85 percent compared with a City average of 61 percent. Sixty-two percent of rental units in the Chicago Metropolitan area were constructed before 1940, compared with 86 percent of Latino units. In Chicago, 94 percent of Latino rental units were built before 1940, while the city as a whole averaged 76 percent. (Table 5.4).

Attitudes

The 1975 Annual Housing Survey also asked people for opinions on the quality of neighborhood services and for their overall satisfaction with their neighborhood and housing. Latinos in Chicago were more concerned with the police protection they received, than either blacks or whites. The other major concerns for all groups were inadequate shopping facilities and hospital or

5.3 LIVING SPACE CHARACTERISTICS BY RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP FOR CHICAGO, 1979.

	Latino	Whites	Blacks	Average
City of Chicago				
Room/Unit	4.5	4.7	4.8	4.7
People/Unit	3.7	2.2	3.1	2.8
Room/Person	1.2	2.1	1.6	1.7
Metropolitan Area				
Room/Unit	4.6	5.3	4.8	5.1
People/Unit	3.5	2.3	2.7	2.5
Room/Person	1.3	2.3	1.8	2.0
Suburbs*				
Room/Unit	4.6	5.1	4.7	
People/Unit	4.0	2.7	3.3	
Room/Person	1.2	1.9	1.4	

SOURCE: 1980 Census Summary Tape Tabulations.
*Selected Municipalities.

5.4 PERCENTAGE OF OCCUPIED UNITS BUILT BEFORE 1940, BY RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP, CHICAGO, 1980.

	Latino	Black	All Groups
City			
Houses:	85	63	61
Apartments	94	72	76
Metropolitan Area			
Houses	66	56	34
Apartments	86	70	62
Suburbs			
Houses	39	28	21
Apartments	51	40	35

SOURCE: 1975 Annual Housing Survey, Chicago

health clinic facilities. Public transportation was the major concern of all residents outside Chicago, followed by shopping, police and hospitals. The percentage of Latino respondents in Chicago who rated their neighborhood "excellent" or "good" was higher than the corresponding percentage for blacks and the city average. In the suburbs the pattern was the same, with 83 percent of the Latinos responding excellent or good, as alternatives to "fair" or "poor".

Summary

Latino housing in Chicago is characterized by low ownership rates. Their demand for housing is increasing rapidly at the same time as rental stock is diminishing. Although Latinos reside in far older structures, their overall opinion of housing satisfaction is relatively high. This background should increase concern for Latino participation in low interest rate mortgage programs and housing aid.

Chicago was a national leader in initiating a program using tax-exempt bonds to obtain funds for preferential financing of mortgages of certain home buyers. The program was highly beneficial for the purchasers, lowering the cost of a mortgage by thousands of dollars over its lifetime. Unfortunately, this money was made available through lending institutions, with no special effort to reach Latinos. According to an analysis by the Chicago Reporter, Latinos received only 7 percent of City bond mortgages. (6)

6. SUBSIDIZED HOUSING PROGRAMS

Despite evidence of their need for low-cost housing, Latinos receive only about 2 percent of the family housing provided by the three programs administered by the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) and the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD): traditional public housing, Section 8 housing and scattered-site housing. There are numerous explanations for this low participation rate, and little evidence of improvement in the availability of housing aid.

The Chicago Housing Authority's family housing program provides CHA-owned apartments to low-income families. Residents pay a monthly rent that does not exceed 30 percent of their income. About 3 percent of all housing units in the City are owned by the CHA and rented in this manner. Latino participation in this program increased during the 1970-1980 period from 1 to 2 percent. In 1980, whites comprised 3 percent, and blacks 95 percent of the total.(See Appendix, Table 13).

CHA Eligibility and Participation

CHA eligibility generally depends on income. At present, for example, families of four persons are eligible if they receive less than $19,600 annual income. There is no lack of income-eligible Latinos to explain their low rate of participation. As shown in chapter 2, median family income was $15,630 among Latino families in Chicago and 24 percent were in poverty.

In order to better determine the degree of Latino participation in public housing, we compared income eligibility and participation rates for Latinos, blacks and whites. "Participation" was defined as the number of a racial/ethnic group who live in the CHA units divided by those in the group who are income-eligible, or earn less than a specified income. We also compared 1970 with 1980 participation.

Of all families earning less than $10,000 in 1970, 7 percent lived in CHA Family Program housing. Among blacks 18 percent of eligible families participated, while the corresponding Latino level was 7 percent. For 1980, we used an income level of $20,000 as the upper income limit, although most residents had far lower incomes. On this basis, 9 percent of such families, 16 percent of blacks, 0.6 percent of whites, and 0.7 percent of Latinos lived in CHA Family Housing. (7)

Possible Explanations of Low Latino Participation

One cause of the disparity between eligibility and participation is the location of CHA housing projects. In 1980, over 80 percent of the City's public housing units were located in just eleven community areas. Of these units, 69 percent were located in sixteen areas with populations over 73 percent black.

Other factors which may explain low participation include a possible lack of CHA visibility and housing information in Latino neighborhoods. There were very few Latinos living in housing projects more than 6 to 8 bocks from Latino neighborhoods. Six projects are situated close to Latino neighborhoods; four of them,(Lathrop Homes, Lawndale Gardens, Bridgeport and Trumbull Homes) had a Latino population of about 25 percent.

The other two projects are actually groups of projects, the Ogden-12th and Washtenaw buildings, and the Brooks Extension-Abbott Addams Homes (which together make up what is known as the "ABLA" complex of projects). No Latinos lived in either of these complexes, although the presence of Latinos nearby suggests this possibility. The Ogden projects lie six blocks north of a Census tract that was 71 percent Latino. The ABLA projects lie south of Census tracts that were at least 17 percent Latino. It is also directly north of the Pilsen

community area, which was 78 percent Latino. However, these projects are separated from the Pilsen area by a small rail yard. In the six cases we studied, Latinos did live near a source of low-cost housing, but did not reside in two of them. (See Table 6.1)

We further calculated participation for areas of the six relevant projects, using only the tract in which the project was built and the surrounding tracts. In these projects, blacks participated more than three times as much as Latinos. Of the income-eligible Latinos in the area, 23 percent lived in the CHA projects, compared with 74 percent of the income-eligible blacks. (8) This indicates that some factor still favors black participation, although the evidence shows that Latinos utilize certain CHA units located in their neighborhoods.

White families are almost as rare in CHA projects as Latinos, though there are many poor whites in Chicago. Chicago has been found guilty of intentional segregation of family housing projects in ghetto communities. One serious by-product of this discrimination by City housing officials has been to make CHA family housing, in effect, black housing in Chicago, and to restrict opportunities for integrated government housing.

Other factors fail to account for low Latino participation in subsidized housing. There appears to be a sufficient turnover in housing units to permit Latinos to move into CHA projects within a few years. We checked the six relevant sites. In no project did fewer than 5 percent of the units become vacant in 1980. CHA units are sufficiently inexpensive. A family pays no more than 30 percent of their monthly income for rent. Latinos paid on the average $233 monthly in gross rent in 1979, which means that an average family would earn $8920 per year to pay that rent in a CHA unit, assuming a 30 percent ceiling. At least 30 percent of Latino families earned less than $10,000 in 1979, providing evidence of a large number of Latinos eligible for CHA housing.

CHA staffing may influence Latino participation. The CHA staff includes managers who make policy and determine project location, and clerical staff who execute policy and serve as a source of advertising for new CHA programs. There were no Latinos on the CHA board of directors in 1981. Only 1 of 151 managers, and only 12 out of 428 clerical workers were Latino. The entire CHA staff was only 2 percent Latino and 82 percent black. Information and recruitment did not seem to reach Latinos. Most new programs and expansions of old programs were advertised to the current residents and participants in the CHA's various programs. We did not discover any specific efforts by the CHA to communicate with the Latino community.

6.1 RACIAL/ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF SELECTED CHICAGO HOUSING AUTHORITY PROJECTS, 1981.

	Percent of Project		
Project	Latino	White	Black
Total CHA	2	3	95
Lathrop	25	60	15
Lawndale	27	54	18
Bridgeport	24	75	0
Trumbull	25	59	4
Ogden	0	0	100
12th & Washtenaw	0	0	100
Addams	0	0	100
Brooks	0	0	100
Abbott	0	0	100
Brooks Extension	0	0	100

SOURCE: 1981 CHA Statistical Report.

A combination of factors, then, offers a partial explanation of why Latinos do not participate in the CHA family housing program to the same extent as blacks. This gap has actually widened since 1970 despite an increase in CHA units. A full treatment of the problem would require among other things an examination of the waiting list statistics to determine whether Latinos actually attempt to live in CHA units when they become available. Such data was unavailable from the CHA.

Section 8 Housing

The Section 8 program has been developed as part of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974. It provides rent subsidies for families who live in privately owned, CHA-approved apartments across the city. The program was initiated in the mid-seventies using HUD subsidies. The Section 8 program seems adaptable to the housing needs of Latinos since private units can be rented in Latino neighborhoods or wherever families wanted to live.

The Section 8 program has eligibility requirements different than those of CHA family housing projects. In 1980, a family of four had to receive less than $19,050 annual income and live in an apartment costing less than $415 monthly for 2 bedrooms, or $485 monthly for 3 bedrooms. Among Latino families in Chicago, 68 percent received less than $20,000 per year income and the median gross rent paid was $233, far below the median rent for Section 8 apartments.

Again, Latinos have participated in the Section 8 rental program in smaller proportions than blacks. Though this program is a very flexible and popular one, the percent of subsidies going to Latinos actually dropped steadily from 5 percent in 1976 to 2 percent in 1981. (Table 6.2).

6.2 RACIAL/ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF CHICAGO HOUSING AUTHORITY SECTION 8 PROGRAM, 1976-1981.

	Percent of Program		
	Latino	White	Black
Year			
1976	5	23	70
1977	5	10	84
1978	3	9	88
1979	3	7	90
1980	3	5	92
1981	2	5	93

SOURCE: 1981 CHA Statistical Report

The low level of Latino participation in the Section 8 housing program may have many of the same roots as the case of public housing. Limited knowledge of the program and the position of Latinos on Section 8 waiting lists may be particularly important. Since rental subsidy programs (principally Section 8) are the only significant resources remaining for low-income family housing after recent federal budget cuts and program changes, improving Latino access to Section 8 has a high priority.

Gautreaux and Scattered-Site Housing

The problems of racial segregation and site concentration in public housing were addressed by the federal court orders to CHA and HUD in the Gautreaux decision. An analysis of this case is important to the assessment of future subsidized housing opportunities for Latinos, and as a clue to the possible causes of low Latino participation in these public programs. In a number of court rulings during the 1967-1976 period, CHA and HUD were found guilty of racially discriminatory policies in connection with the selection of sites and assignment of tenants for public housing in the City of Chicago.

As a result of a 1976 U.S. Supreme Court ruling, HUD and the plaintiffs entered into a one-year agreement to provide 400 "Gautreaux class" families with rental assistance through the Section 8 program. This demonstration project was intended to relocate these families into non-minority areas throughout the Chicago metropolitan area. The purpose was to encourage participants to move to suburban areas, or to areas within the city with low minority population, providing more statisfactory neighborhood environments and a better quality of housing.

The Gautreaux plan began in August of 1976 and had placed 455 families by March of 1979. Program participants moved, on the average, from neighborhoods with a 60 percent minority population to

neighborhoods with only 5 percent minority residents. Most participants moved to white suburbs. Gautreaux families, like those receiving regular Section 8 assistance in Chicago, were predominantly headed by low-income black females. Only 1 percent of the Gautreaux families were Latino, while 90 percent were black and 7 percent were white. In 1980, Section 8 family statistics showed breakdowns of 93 percent black, 5 percent white, and 2 percent Latino.

To be eligible for Gautreaux participation, one had to be on the CHA waiting list or a CHA resident by June 16, 1981. As noted, Latino participation has always been low, and only 7 percent of the current Section 8 waiting list was Latino. More importantly, a survey of Gautreaux families in 1979 found that roughly one-half of Gautreaux and Section 8 families heard about the program from their local housing office, 43 percent listed a friend or relative as their initial source of information, and only 5 percent said the media alerted them to the program. Because Latino participation in public housing remains low, fewer Latinos learn about the various programs. The importance of this personal contact has been stressed by the Leadership Council, which administers the program. In fact, for the past year and a half, the Council has not sent mailings to CHA residents or placed advertisements in newspapers; they have found verbal communication among participants to be adequate advertisement.

Under the Gautreaux decision, the CHA is also planning 2,223 scattered-site housing units around the City. By the end of 1981, over one-third of the units planned were in some phase of construction or substantial rehabilitation. One half of these apartments are reserved for residents of neighborhoods in which the apartment is built; one quarter for present CHA residents, and the remaining quarter for those on the waiting list for CHA family housing.

The CHA's scattered-site housing program is an attempt to redistribute Chicago's public housing by locating both new and rehabilitated units in concentrations of no more than 20 units per site in every community area in the City. Of the 431 scattered-site units in 1981, 11 percent were occupied by Latinos, 2 percent by whites and 87 percent by blacks. In its early stages, this program was more accessible to Latino families than other housing subsidy efforts, but Latinos were still underrepresented.

7. EDUCATION

Education will play a very important role in the future of the rapidly growing and youthful Latino population of metropolitan Chicago. There is powerful national evidence of a close relationship between education, occupation, and income for Latino families. As the Chicago economy undergoes the profound transformations decribed in later chapters of this report, educational attainment will become even more important to Chicago's Latinos. Though this report can offer only a modest addition to the extensive literature on Latino educational issues, we found a brief review of the basic educational statistics essential to understanding the current Latino employment situation.

Although Latinos in the Chicago area have experienced increases in educational attainment levels, they still rank below both blacks and whites. Latino high school attrition rates remain very high in Chicago. College enrollment and graduation levels are much lower than those of blacks and whites. This is true even for those Latino families who live in the suburbs and satellite cities. For them, access to suburban school systems does not appear to produce the comparative gains in educational attainment levels reported for black and white suburbanites. Latinos face serious educational challenges at all levels and in all parts of the metropolitan area.

Latino Enrollment Trends

Latino school enrollment has grown enormously since 1970. From 1971 to 1981, the proportion of Latino students in the Chicago public schools doubled. In the schools of the Catholic Archdiocese and in suburban Cook County, the proportion of Latinos has also grown rapidly. In comparison, white enrollment fell significantly, with a precipitous decline of 59 percent in the City, 46 percent in the parochial system, and 35 percent in the suburbs. Black enrollment, in contrast, fell less rapidly in the City but rose less rapidly than the Latino numbers in the Catholic and suburban schools. (Table 7.1).

As shown in Table 7.2, during the past three years, school enrollment trends have been particularly dramatic. Across the metropolitan area, white enrollment dropped by 102,000, falling in all suburban counties as well as in the city. Black enrollment was also down 21,000, while Latino enrollment was up 11,000. Latinos now account for 11 percent of the total metropolitan public school enrollment. About eight out of nine Latino students are enrolled in pubic schools, schools whose levels of segregation have increased rapidly between 1970 and 1980 (Orfield 1983:17-19). (See Appendix, Table 14).

Education and Jobs

Education is very important in understanding the social and economic status and prospects of Latino families because of evidence that high school and college completion are related to higher income and success in obtaining work. Since income affects all other aspects of a family's situation, the impact of low levels of educational attainment among Latinos is pervasive and crucial to their economic situation.

A wide variety of recent studies confirm the importance of education in Latino economic success. The U.S. Department of Labor's 1978 report, "Workers of Spanish Origin," the National Center for Education Statistics' 1980 report,"The Condition of Education for Hispanic Americans," and the special analyses of the 1980 Census for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights' report,"Unemployment and Underemployment Among Blacks, and Hispanics, and Women," all show higher incomes, better jobs and much lower unemployment for those with higher levels of educational attainment. In addition, the extensive study of the 1970 Census by A.J. Jaffe and Associates (1980) found that education had a higher payoff for Latinos than for blacks.

These and other studies generally confirm the relevance of education to

7.1 LATINO PERCENT OF SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS, CHICAGO, 1971-1981.

	Latino Enrollment	Total Enrollment	Latino Percent of Total
Chicago Public Schools			
1971	59,453	573,480	10
1981	86,756	442,889	20
Chicago Archdiocesan Schools			
1971	13,217	164,552	8
1981	18,449	117,071	16
Suburban Public Schools			
1971	7,247	475,623	2
1981	14,209	347,590	4

SOURCE: Illinois Office of Education and Archdiocese of Chicago

7.2 CHANGES IN METROPOLITAN CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOL ATTENDANCE BY RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUPS, FALL 1979-FALL 1982.

Jurisdiction	Total	Latino	White	Black	Other*
City of Chicago	-41,596	+6,798	-24,342	-25,390	+1,338
Suburban Cook	-40,961	+2,117	-49,225	+ 2,878	+3,269
DuPage County	- 8,439	+359	-11,068	+440	+1,830
Kane County	- 2,983	+753	- 5,030	+519	+775
Lake County	- 5,376	+913	- 6,628	+32	+307
McHenry County	- 1,400	+117	- 1,607	+15	+75
Will County	- 2,779	+137	-4,232	+932	+384
Suburbs	-61,938	+4,396	-77,790	+4,816	+6,640
City & Suburbs	-103,354	+11,194	-102,132	-20,574	+7,978

SOURCE: Illinois State Board of Education, Calculation by Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities. *Mostly Asian.

employment among Latinos. In 1976, for example, the Labor Department reported that Latinos with one or more years of college were about half as likely to be jobless as those who dropped out of high school (Brown, et al. 1980:246). In 1977, the male Latino high school dropout earned an average of $9700, while the high school graduate earned $12,400, and the college graduate earned an average of $20,500. Latino women earned much less at every level but the proportionate differences by education were equally large (Brown:252).

The 1980 Census showed similar results. More than a tenth of Latino males who did not finish high school were jobless, compared to a sixteenth of those who graduated from high school, and about one college graduate in thirty. Among women, more than 15 percent were unemployed among those who left high school before graduation, but only 3 percent among those completing college.

According to the Civil Rights Commission's analysis, among Latino males with incomplete high school, 16 percent had marginal jobs in 1980, 11 percent were intermittently employed, and another 7 percent could only find part-time work. The Commission also reported that only 1 percent of Latino college graduates had marginal jobs, 2 percent could only find part-time work, and 3 percent were

intermittently employed. In other words, education made a very large difference not only in finding a job, but also in finding a stable job. (Table 7.3)

7.3 PERCENT UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNDEREMPLOYMENT BY LEVELS OF EDUCATION, ACCORDING TO RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP AND GENDER, MARCH 1980.

	Male			Female		
	Latino	Majority	Black	Latino	Majority	Black
Less than high school	100	100	100	100	100	100
Unemployed	10	11	16	15	10	18
Intermittently employed	11	8	15	9	5	9
Involutary part-time	7	4	7	8	5	8
Marginal jobs	16	12	16	30	32	40
High school graduate	100	100	100	100	100	100
Unemployed	7	6	13	7	5	13
Intermittently employed	8	6	11	7	4	9
Involuntary part-time	5	3	5	5	4	6
Marginal jobs	8	4	11	13	13	18
College graduate	100	100	100	100	100	100
Unemployed	4	2	6	3	2	3
Intermittently employed	3	2	5	3	3	5
Involuntary part-time	2	1	2	2	2	2
Marginal jobs	1	1	4	3	2	2

SOURCE: U.S. Civil Rights Commission, 1982:43.

This strong relationship between education and unemployment has also been studied at the local level, although the ethnic breakdown is not yet available. Calculations by the Chicago Department of Planning in 1980 show that in the City, teenagers with incomplete high school were substantially more likely to be unemployed than those who graduated (Chicago Department of Planning 1983: Table 47).

Latino Attainment in Chicago

Because of delays in the publishing of 1980 Census data, it is not currently possible to analyze the education-employment relationship in Chicago directly. However, it is possible to examine the educational attainment levels of Latinos in the City and point out some implications.

In 1980 Latinos in Chicago had lower attainment levels than either blacks or whites. In 1980, the median number of school years completed was 9.1 compared with 12.6 for whites, and 12.1 for blacks. The figures in Table 7.4 show that among Latinos aged 25 and over, 51 percent had completed 8 or less years of education, 19 percent were high school graduates, and only 5 percent had completed four or more years of college. In comparison, 17 percent of whites and 8 percent of blacks were college graduates.

School attrition among Chicago's Latinos remains significantly higher than for the City's other major groups. Among Latinos age 25 or over in 1980, 68 percent had not graduated from high school. This compares with 46 percent for blacks, and 41 percent for whites. The statistics were also bleak for 16 to 19 year-olds. Forty-three percent of Latinos in this age group were not attending school, almost twice the level for blacks (Chicago Reporter 1983:1).

7.4 SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED BY RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUPS, CHICAGO, 1980.

	Percent Completing Educational Level		
	Latino	White	Black
Educational Level			
Elementary (0 to 8 yrs)	51	24	22
High School:			
1 to 3 Yrs	17	17	24
4 Yrs	19	29	29
College:			
1 to 3 Yrs	8	13	17
4 or More Yrs	5	17	8
All Persons:	100	100	100

SOURCE: 1980 Census Summary Tape 3 Tabulations.

Education in Latino Communities

Census data show that educational achievement varies in different parts of the City and among different ethnic groups within the Latino population. Educational levels were low in some of the City's most concentrated Latino community areas. Between 41 and 50 percent of the adult Latino population reported having only an elementary school education in the areas with large Mexican populations (Pilsen, Little Village, South Chicago and Back of the Yards), and the areas with the largest Puerto Rican populations (West Town and Humboldt Park). As just described, the Latino average for the City was 51 percent of the adult population with elementary school attainment.

School attainment rates could not be separately calculated for the Latino subgroups because of a lack of data for this in the Census tapes available at the time of our study. Data for the entire population of areas in which Latinos predominate can be misleading, since they include non Latinos, who have different levels of educational attainment.

Suburban school systems are widely assumed to offer superior educational opportunities. When white or black families talk about leaving the City for the suburbs, one of the reasons frequently given is that of better schools. Latino suburbanization, however, has been a special kind of suburbanization. As mentioned earlier in the analysis of metropolitan residential patterns, Latinos in the suburbs tend to be concentrated in a small number of older satellite cities such as Aurora, Waukegan, Joliet, and Chicago Heights. A number of these "suburbs" are old industrial cities that were surrounded by the newer communities created by the outward rush to the suburbs. In reality they are much more like small separate cities. Latinos of Mexican and Puerto Rican descent are concentrated in these cities, some of which have predominantly black and Latino school districts. Therefore, school experience may be very different from the suburban norm. On average, it appears that Cubans and other Latinos (far more widely dispersed in the suburbs) are probably having a far more typical suburban educational experience than most Mexicans and Puerto Ricans living outside of the city.

The statistics on school attainment for Latinos in suburbs resemble those found in the City. In nine suburban communities, 53 percent of Latinos had only a grade school education, compared with 21 percent of blacks and 18 percent of whites. In these suburbs 31 percent of the Latinos were high school graduates and only 4 percent had completed 4 years of college. Blacks in these communities were almost twice as likely to be college graduates, and the white college completion rate in these communities is about four times as high.(Table 7.5).

7.5 EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT LEVELS BY RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP, SATELITE CITIES OF CHICAGO, 1980.

	Latino	White	Black
Educational Level			
Elementary (0 to 8 Yrs)	53	18	21
High School			
1 to 3 Years	16	16	25
4 Years	20	13	6
College			
1 to 3 Years	8	15	17
4 or More Years	4	13	6
All Persons	100	100	100

SOURCE: 1980 Census Summary Tape 3 Tabulations.
Note: Satellite cities included Aurora, Chicago Heights, Cicero, Elgin, Hanover Park, Joliet, Maywood, North Chicago and Waukegan.

Among the suburbs there were certain differences. Latino educational attainment in Waukegan and Joliet, for example, closely resembled attainment levels in Chicago. Latinos in Chicago Heights and Cicero had modestly higher educational levels, while the attainment levels in Elgin and Aurora were lower than in the City. In general, however, Latino college attainment levels were slightly lower in the suburbs than in the City, showing that the suburbs have not provided the upward mobility that is part of the suburban ideal.

Therefore, it cannot be assumed that suburbanization will resolve the educational problems confronting Latino students. As Latino suburbanization increases, greater attention needs to be given to two important factors. The first is to insure full housing choices so that Latinos can avoid communities with troubled school districts. Secondly, serious efforts must be made to assess the performance of suburban as well as City school districts where Latino students are enrolled.

Higher Education

Between 1970 and 1978 there were great improvements in college enrollment for the entire population. While all groups have taken advantage of college opportunities, Latino enrollment remains below black and white levels by a wide margin. According to estimates from the 1980 Census, only 2 percent of Latinos age 20-24 had graduated from Bachelor or Associate degree programs. This compares with 4 percent for blacks and 6 percent for whites in the same age groups. According to HEW/OCR reports, Latinos comprised only 4 percent of the entire Chicago metropoiitan area's college enrollment and only 2 percent of its 1978 college graduates (Table 7.6 and Cibils 1983:39). The 1980 Census reported that 9 percent of Chicago's residents attending college were Latinos, well below the Latino share of the population. In comparison, blacks' share of college students was 37 percent, close to their share of the population.

7.6 COLLEGE ENROLLMENT AND GRADUATION RATES BY RACIAL/ ETHNIC GROUP IN METROPOLITAN CHICAGO, 1978.

	Latino	White	Black
Total College Enrollment	9,607	186,277	49,026
In B.A. Programs	4,629	80,642	14,694
In A.A. Programs	4,978	105,635	34,332
Total College Graduates	1,017	27,544	5,540
In B.A. Programs	512	17,226	2,429
In A.A. Programs	505	10,318	3,111
Estimated Percent of Groups Population Age 20-24 Graduating	2	6	4
With B.A. Degrees	1	4	2
With A.A. Degrees	1	2	2

SOURCE: HEW/OCR Reports, 1972, 1979, 1980.

Need for a Comprehensive Educational Strategy

Recent discussions of Latino education have focused primarily on the problems of Spanish-speaking children attending English language schools. The language problems are seen by many as the primary cause of attrition and low college enrollments. The 1980 Census provided important data on language use that strongly suggest that language differences are by no means the only issue in Latino educational attainment. Language is a serious educational problem for Latinos in Chicago, but the nature of the problem has not been correctly described in many of the public discussions. Too often it is seen as a problem of young children beginning school or as the only problem of Latino education.

The information given by Latino families during the Census reveals that the great majority of parents said that their children spoke English "well" or "very well." On the other hand, a high portion of people over 18 reported speaking English "not well" or "not at all." In all but two of the City's communities with significant Latino populations, at least three-fourths of children age 5-17 were said by their families to speak English well or very well. (Table 7.7) Only in Pilsen did the number of children with reported English language limitations rise to as much as a third. (See Appendix, Table 15). These data show that it is a great oversimplification to describe the school problems of all Latino children as exclusively language problems, although certainly there are many children with such need. These data also show a high need for adult education: education with obvious job relevance in a largely English-speaking economy.

7.7 PERCENT OF INDIVIDUALS IN LATINO HOUSEHOLDS WHO SPEAK ENGLISH WELL OR VERY WELL, BY AGE GROUP, ACCORDING TO COMMUNITY AREAS IN CHICAGO, 1980.

Community Area	Percent Who Speak English Well to Very Well	
	5-17 Years	18 or Older
Rogers Park	85	60
Uptown	73	55
Lincoln Square	81	68
Lake View	84	69
Lincoln Park	79	72
Albany Park	80	63
Hermosa	81	69
Avondale	90	68
Humboldt Park	83	64
West Town	80	55
Austin	90	71
Near West Side	77	58
North Lawndale	88	73
Little Village	77	52
Pilsen	67	46
South Deering	86	70
Brighton Park	87	72
Back of the Yards	78	51
Gage Park	85	82

SOURCE: 1980 Census Summary Tape Tabulations.

Summary and Conclusions

Latinos are a rapidly increasing proportion of the public and Catholic school population in both the City and the suburbs. Latinos in metropolitan Chicago have lower educational attainment levels than either blacks or whites, both in the City and in the suburbs with significant Latino populations.

Latinos in Chicago have an attrition rate that is higher than the rate for blacks and whites. The educational attainment rates for Latinos are increasing over the years, with Latinos under 25 showing higher rates of high school completion and college enrollment than older groups. However, Latinos are still seriously underrepresented in both college enrollment and graduation. There is a serious need for adult education to address the problem of lack of high school diplomas and a working knowledge of English among adults. Urgent attention to education issues is needed, particularly in those City and suburban communities with large concentrations of Latino families. Their needs, which include but extend far beyond language problems, should rank high on the agenda of metropolitan Chicago educators and administrators. Without higher levels of education, Latinos will have trouble finding jobs and their families and communities will be threatened by economic decline.

8. LATINOS IN THE LABOR FORCE

The latest available data from the U.S. Department of Labor provided information on Latinos in the labor force, or the total of civilians who are either employed or unemployed. Having a job or seeking employment is therefore said to be participation in the labor force. Latinos had the highest labor force participation rate and percentage employed, compared with whites and blacks in the Chicago metropolitan area in 1981. Unfortunately, Latinos were also unemployed at a rate higher than that for whites. This apparent contradiction of a large percentage of Latinos in the labor force, employed and unemployed can be explained by the large increases in the Latino population, improvements in statistical measurement, and the relatively young age of Latinos. Also, the composition of the Latino labor force reflected a trend seen in other groups in which the proportion of women increased.

This chapter examines the recent development of the Latino labor force in the Chicago metropolitan area. We seek to examine the Latino employment situation in 1981 by identifying some influential factors such as age, gender, and occupation. Our primary measures to examine Latino employment in this chapter are the labor force participation rate, percentage employed, and the unemployment rate. (See Appendix, Entry 16 for a glossary of terms)

Data Source

Except as other sources are cited, our data were taken from the yearly Geographic Profile of Employment and Unemployment, for the years 1977 (the first year in which data was obtained for Latinos in the Chicago area) through 1981. (9) This source is a U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics publication which uses the bi-annual Bureau of the Census' Current Population Survey to provide annual averages of employment, unemployment, and other labor force information for the nation.

According to a representative of the Bureau of Labor Statistics in Chicago, improved data collection of the Latino population is one factor which contributed to the increases shown in their labor force participation, and changes in labor force composition between 1977 and 1981. This combination of improved counting and the natural growth rate in the Latino population no doubt influences the figures presented here.

Labor Force Size and Participation Rates

The U.S. Department of Labor defines the labor force participation rate as the percentage of the civilian non-institutional population 16 years and older who are either employed or actively seeking a job. It is a statistical measure heavily influenced by population growth, particularly when this occurs as a result of migration. Therefore, it is not surprising to find increasing levels of Latino participation. Latino employment is also increasing as more Latinos enter the labor force and successfully find jobs. At the same time, larger percentages of the Latino workforce are becoming unemployed. The result is higher labor force participation, but higher unemployment.

Data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics show that a great many more Latinos were working or looking for work in 1981 than in 1977. While the Latino population 16 years and older increased by about 41 percent, from 250,000 to 352,000, the Latino labor force increased about 60 percent, from 159,000 to 255,000. As the numbers indicate, a substantial proportion of the increase in the Latino labor force can be attributed to the large number of Latinos reaching age 16 and entering the labor force. However, other sources such as continued migration have to be considered as well. This growth in the Latino labor force was in sharp contrast with the relative stability of the white and black labor

forces. The white population 16 years and older increased only about one percent, while the white labor force increased 4 percent. The black population 16 years and older increased about 5 percent, while the black labor force increased about 7 percent.

Labor Force Participation Rates

The labor force participation rate for Latinos in the Chicago metropolitan area increased from 64 percent in 1977 to 72 percent in 1981. From year to year, Latino participation rates fell between those for whites and blacks, until 1979, when it surpassed the rate for whites, and remained there through 1981.

The participation rate for Latino men in the Chicago Metropolitan area increased from 86 percent in 1977 to 88 percent in 1981. The participation rate for both white and black men decreased about one percent: from 83 percent to 82 percent for whites, and from 69 percent to 68 percent for blacks. The participation of Latino women in the labor force increased from a rate of 41 percent in 1977 to 54 percent in 1981. The percentage increase was larger than the increase shown by Latino males. The participation rate for white women increased about 7 percentage points from 1977 to 1981. Black women also showed an increase of about 5 percentage points. Participation rates for Latino women were surpassed by both white and black women each year until 1981, when Latino women participated at a higher rate than black women.

Compared with Latinos at the national level, those in the Chicago metropolitan area showed higher rates of labor force participation between 1977 and 1981. For Latino men, participation in Chicago was 5 percentage points higher in 1977 (86 vs. 81 percent) and 7 percentage points higher in 1981(88 vs. 81 percent). In 1977, Latino women in Chicago had a participation rate lower than the national rate (41 vs. 44 percent). But they surpassed their national participation rate starting in 1979, reaching a 5-point margin in 1981 (54 vs. 49 percent). The increase in the labor force participation rate of Latino women in the Chicago metropolitan area between 1977 and 1981 exceeded the approximate 10 percent increase in the rate for Latino women nationwide.

Employment

Between 1977 and 1981, Latinos in the Chicago metropolitan area showed a larger increase in their percentage employed than blacks and whites, and than Latinos nationwide. (10) The total Latino percentage employed increased between 1977 and 1981, from 59 percent to 64 percent. The percentage employed of whites as a group remained stable, at 63 percent. The percentage employed of blacks as a group dropped to 47 percent. Much of the increase in the percentage of Latinos employed reflects the increasing employment of Latino women. (Table 8.1).

8.1 PERCENT EMPLOYED OF CIVILIAN, NON-INSTITUTIONAL POPULATION 16 YEARS AND OLDER, BY RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP AND GENDER, CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA, 1977 AND 1981.

Group		Total	Male	Female
Latino:	1977	60	81	38
	1981	64	77	48
White:	1977	63	79	78
	1981	63	77	51
Black:	1977	48	59	41
	1981	47	54	42

SOURCE: Geographic Profile of Employment and Unemployment, 1977-81.

The percentage employed of Latino men decreased about 4 points between 1977 and 1981. The percentage of white men employed also decreased about 4 points, while the percentage employed of black men dropped about 9 percentage points -- the largest decrease among males. The percentage of Latino men employed exceeded those for both white and black in 1977 and 1979; however, in 1978, 1980, and 1981 the percent of white men

employed was higher than among Latinos. Black men consistently had the lowest percentage employed in every year studied.

Compared with other female groups in the Chicago metropolitan area, the percentage of employed Latino women increased substantially. In 1981, 48 percent of Latino women were reported employed, 10 points higher than the 38 percent reported for 1977. The percentage of white women employed increased about 8 points during this period, to 51 percent in 1981. The percentage of employed black women rose about 3 points in 1981 to 42 percent. From year to year, the percentage of employed Latino women generally fell below the percentages of both black and white until 1980, when the percentage of Latino women exceeded the employed percentage of black women.

Unemployment

Between 1977 and 1981, the unemployment rate for Latino men and women in the Chicago metropolitan area increased from 7 to 12 percent, representing an increase in the number of unemployed Latinos from 11,000 to 31,000. The white unemployment rate showed a smaller increase, from 5 percent in 1977 to 7 percent in 1981, while the black unemployment rate increased from 12 to 19 percent. (Table 8.2). (11)

8.2 PERCENT UNEMPLOYED OF CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE BY RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP AND GENDER, CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA, 1977 AND 1981.

Group		Total	Male	Female
Latino:	1977	7	6	8
	1981	12	13	10
White:	1977	5	4	5
	1981	7	7	6
Black:	1977	14	14	14
	1981	19	22	16

SOURCE: Geographic Profile of Employment and Unemployment, 1977-81.

The recent recession has created a large increase in the proportion of Latino men who cannot find work. The unemployment rate among Latino men in the Chicago metropolitan area more than doubled between 1977 and 1981, from 6 to 13 percent. Net increases in the unemployment rates for white men were less drastic, with their rate increasing from 4 to 7 percent. The relative increase was the steepest of all for black males, from a reported 14 percent in 1977 to 22 percent in 1981. From year to year, Latino males were unemployed at rates lower than those for black males but higher than those for white males.

The unemployment rate for Latino women in the Chicago metropolitan area showed an increase from 8 to 10 percent between 1977 and 1981. From year to year, Latino women showed unemployment rates below those for black women (except for the years 1979-80), and above those for white women, a pattern much like the one shown by Hispanic men.

From 1978 to 1980 the unemployment rate for Latinos age 16 to 19 in the Chicago metropolitan area rose from 21 percent to 31 percent. (12) Unemployment rates for white and black teenagers in the Chicago area showed smaller increases, although black teenager unemployment rates (a reported 49 percent in 1980) were significantly higher than Latino teenage unemployment rates. (Table 8.3).

In both 1977 and 1981, the Latino unemployment rate in the U.S. was 10 percent, but showed a slight increase of decimal points--much lower than the net increase in the unemployment rate of Chicago area Latinos. Latino men and women in the Chicago metropolitan area showed higher unemployment rates in 1981 than were reported for Latinos nationwide. This pattern began in 1979 among Latino men and in 1980 among Latino women. It is therefore apparent that the recent economic recession has meant greater adversity for Chicago's Latino community than has been generally experienced in the United States.

8.3 PERCENT UNEMPLOYED IN CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE AGE 16-19, BY RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP, CHICAGO AND SELECTED METROPOLITAN AREAS, 1977 AND 1981.

Location/Group	1977	1981
Chicago: Latino	21	31
White	11	16
Black	40	49
Latinos In:		
Los Angeles	21	24
Miami	21	12
New York	27	36
San Francisco	22	20
United States	21	22

SOURCE: Geographic Profile of Employment and Unemployment, 1977-81.

Although data for Latinos in the Gary/Hammond metropolitan area were not available in the Geographic Profile, 1980 Census data were used for a comparison between the Latino labor force here and in the Chicago metropolitan area. (13) The 17,974 Latinos in the Gary/Hammond metropolitan area labor force showed a relatively high participation rate, percentage employed, and unemployment rate. Latino rates generally fell between rates for blacks and whites. For example, in Gary/Hammond, 55 percent of Latinos were employed, while the rate for blacks was 51 percent, and 58 percent for whites. In the Chicago metropolitan area, the Latino employment rate was 62 percent, and the unemployment rate for the area was 14 percent. This compared with 11 percent unemployment for Latinos in the Gary/Hammond area. It must be noted, however, that the Gary/Hammond area has suffered drastic cutbacks in the steel and other heavy industries, with effects not evident in these 1980 Census figures.

Other Metropolitan Areas

Compared with five metropolitan areas having large Latino populations (Houston, Los Angeles-Long Beach, Miami, New York, San Francisco-Oakland), Chicago showed the highest Latino unemployment rate in 1981, 12 percent, and the highest recent increase in this measure. Only one other metropolitan area (Houston) showed an increase in the Latino unemployment rate. (14) Except for New York and Chicago, most areas with large Latino populations are located in the Sunbelt regions which have experienced considerable economic growth.

Four other large metropolitan areas showed diverse changes in their unemployment rates for Latino teenagers between 1978 and 1980. Los Angeles and New York showed increases; Miami and San Francisco-Oakland showed decreases. Although the Chicago metropolitan area showed the largest net increase in the unemployment rate for Latino teenagers, from year to year, its rates were lower than those for New York. During this two-year period, the national unemployment rate for Latino youth increased by 8 percent, lower than the Chicago metropolitan area. The relatively high unemployment rate among Latino teenagers is particularly disturbing in light of the high attrition rate among Latino school-age youth. Having less formal education and being unemployed are severe handicaps for Latino youth.

In summary, Latino participation in the Chicago labor force has grown dramatically in recent years as have the number and percent of Latinos without jobs. Although it might be argued that the rapid growth in Latino unemployment was a by-product of the great expansion of the City's Latino population and labor force, metropolitan Houston showed an even larger increase in both participation and jobs among Latinos, and a smaller growth in unemployment. An explanation for the different situations is that Latinos coming to Houston were entering a buoyant Sunbelt economy in rapid expansion, while Chicago faced the serious decline of industry throughout the Snowbelt, a crucial sector of the economy to many Latinos.

9. OCCUPATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL TRENDS

As of 1981, 51 percent of the Latino labor force was concentrated in lesser-skilled and lower-paid operative/laborer occupations. According to 1980 Census data, almost two-thirds of the Latino labor force was employed in manufacturing. This concentration in lesser-skilled jobs in a declining industry is the central finding of this chapter. In addition, the recent occupational and industrial trends in employment among women are studied. Finally, this chapter offers evidence of a relationship between Latino residental patterns and their economic prospects.

The current economic crisis confronting the nation and Chicago places employment in the forefront of major issues for Latinos, blacks, and whites. An anticipated decline in certain major industries will influence work patterns for millions of workers over the coming decade. For Latinos concentrated in manual jobs in declining industries, the future will be increased competition in this sector and the need to prepare for employment in new jobs in growing industries.

Employment in Metropolitan Chicago

In 1981, 2,576,066 workers were employed in the Chicago metropolitan area, marking a decline from 1979 of slightly under 1 percent. Between 1979 and 1981, four of the six Counties had declines in employment, while two Counties experienced gains. DuPage County achieved the greatest increase in jobs, 8 percent, followed by 2 percent in Lake County. The greatest decline occurred in Will County, 6 percent, followed by Kane County with a 4 percent decline, and Cook County with 2 percent. Within Cook County, the City of Chicago had a 3 percent decline in jobs, while suburban areas experienced neither an increase or decrease in employment. (15)

The Illinois Bureau of Employment Security divides employment data into the nine aggregated industrial categories shown in Table 9.1. Employment increases were concentrated in those industries most associated with white-collar occupations. The communications industry achieved 9 percent increase in employment, followed by gains in the finance, insurance, and real estate, service, wholesale trade, and retail industries, as a general Metropolitan trend. In Chicago, however, only the finance, insurance, and real estate, the communications, and the service industries achieved job growth, with rates of 7 percent, 8 percent, and 1 percent respectively. The other four industries (manufacturing, mining, construction, and transportation) all declined in employment. These industries had higher percentages of blue-collar and Latino workers. The mining industry experienced tremendous declines ranging from 19 percent in metropolitan Chicago to 44 percent in the City.

Industries in Decline and Growth

The decline in manufacturing must be considered of greater significance; manufacturing continues to employ more workers in metropolitan Chicago than any other industry: 744,059 in 1981, or 29 percent of the labor force, with almost half of these employed in the City (43 percent). From 1979 to 1981 manufacturing employment declined by over 60,000 jobs in metropolitan Chicago, an 8 percent decrease. Manufacturing jobs declined by 10 percent in the City of Chicago, 12 percent in Kane County and 8 percent in Will County. Only DuPage County had a gain in manufacturing jobs, of 3 percent as shown in Table 9.1.

The most publicized decline in local manufacturing has been in the steel industry. A vivid picture of the decline was given in a telephone interview in early 1983 with Jack Parton, an official of the United Steelworkers of America. According to Mr. Parton, there were 20,000 steelworkers laid off in metropolitan Chicago and Northwestern Indiana. In addition, he estimated that steelworkers had declined in numbers from 65,000 five years previously, to about

9.1 PERCENTAGE GROWTH OR DECLINE OF EMPLOYMENT IN SELECTED INDUSTRIAL SECTORS, IN COOK, DUPAGE, AND MCHENRY COUNTIES, 1979-1981.

Industry	Metropolitan Area	City of Chicago	Balance, Cook County	DuPage County	McHenry County
Manufacturing	-8	-10	-6	+3	-1
Mining	-19	-44	-11	+29	-20
Construction	-8	-4	-5	-7	-34
Transportation	-5	-13	+19	+20	-4
Communications	+9	+8	+12	+13	+21
Wholesale Trade	+2	-3	+5	+13	+16
Retail Trade	+2	-9	+2	+7	+8
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	+6	+7	+5	+9	+6
Services	+3	+1	+6	+11	-1
Total	-1	-3	-	+8	0

SOURCE: Where Workers Work 1979 and 1981, Illinois Bureau of Employment Security.

43,000 at the time of our study, a decline of almost one-third. Latinos have a strong historic connection with steelworking in the Chicago area, which was a vital factor in their settlement here.

While five industries experienced area-wide growth, only three experienced growth in the City of Chicago: communications; finance, insurance, and real estate; and services. Together, these industries employed about 900,000 workers, including over a half million in the City of Chicago alone. Of the metropolitan total, about 70 percent were workers in service industries. Communications had the highest growth rate: 9 percent in the metropolitan area and 8 percent in the City of Chicago. (16) Job growth in communications occurred in every county in metropolitan Chicago except Will, where communication jobs declined only 1 percent as compared to a total county decline of 6 percent.

The finance, insurance, and real estate industry had the second highest growth rate, 6 percent in metropolitan Chicago and 7 percent in the City of Chicago. A similar growth occurred in all of the metropolitan Chicago counties, except Kane, and this was the only industry to expand in Will County. The service industry had a 3 percent growth rate in metropolitan Chicago and 1 percent in the City of Chicago, making it the third fastest growing industry. The industry experienced growth in every county in the metropolitan area except McHenry and Will, and DuPage had the highest growth rate, 10 percent.

Just as the decline in manufacturing was a ten-year trend, services and finance, insurance, and real estate have grown substantially in metropolitan Chicago since 1972. During this period, 43,000 jobs were created in the finance, insurance, and real estate industry, and 135,000 jobs in the service industry. (Table 9.2).

The growth industries have failed to fully compensate for large employment cutbacks in manufacturing and other declining industries. The concentration of Latinos in operative/laborer jobs makes them particularly vulnerable to the sharp decline in industrial jobs in metropolitan Chicago. They continue to be employed in lower-paid jobs, and in the lowest prestige occupations. In 1974, the Chicago Department of Development and Planning released a study of "Spanish-speaking" and "non-Spanish

9.2 CHANGE IN NUMBER OF JOBS BY INDUSTRIAL SECTOR, CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA, 1972-1978.

Industry	Suburbs	City of Chicago
Manufacturing	+5,183	-83,303
Mining & Construction	+5,299	-9,925
Transportation, Communication & Utilites	+6,253	-13,464
Wholesale & Retail Trade	+100,896	-46,213
Finance, Insurance, & Real Estate	+19,927	+9,521
Services	+91,590	+25,276
Total	+229,148	-118,113

SOURCE: Adapted from chart appearing in Metropolitan Housing and Planning Council, Planning Reporter, Volume VIII, No. 3, September 1981.

speaking" workers in Chicago. As reported in the Chicago Tribune on November 10, 1974, the study revealed that 50 percent of the Chicago "Spanish-speaking" labor force were employed as operatives and laborers, and under 10 percent were employed as professionals and managers. In the past seven years, these conditions have remained relatively the same for all Latinos throughout the metropolitan Chicago area.

White-Collar Workers

By white-collar work, we refer to jobs classified as professional, technical, managerial, administrative, sales and clerical. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the national Latino employment rate in white-collar jobs decreased by about 3 percent from 1977 to 1981. Latino employment in these jobs has remained lower than rates for whites and blacks (Table 9.3). White employment rates in white-collar occupations increased about two percent between 1977 and 1981, and consistently exceeded 50 percent of total whites employed. Black employment rates in the white-collar category increased about two percent as well, but consistently fell between rates for whites and Latinos. Blacks generally exceeded Latino employment rates in white-collar occupations by about 2 to 1.

Within the white-collar category, it is possible to isolate those occupations requiring the greatest amount of skill and training. Employment in administrative and professional categories has varied for Latinos, blacks, and whites. It is encouraging that Latinos are the only group to actually increase their employment rates in this category over the past four years. Since 1977, Latinos have increased their employment rate by 2 percent, while blacks and whites were both decreasing. However, this increase still leaves Latinos significantly underrepresented at the highest levels of employment.

Blue-Collar Workers

In a reversal of their ranking in white-collar occupations, Latinos consistently had the highest total employment rates of all groups in blue-collar occupations between 1977 and 1981. Black workers had the second highest blue collar employment rate, generally over half that for Latinos; whites had the lowest blue-collar employment rates, at about half or less of the Latino rates. Between 1977 and 1981, black total employment rates in the blue-collar category increased about 2 percent, while the total blue-collar employment rate for whites decreased about 6 percent.

9.3 PERCENTAGE OF EMPLOYED WORKERS BY MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES, ACCORDING TO RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP, CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA, 1977-1981.

	Percent Employed 1977	1981
Group/Occupational Category:		
Latino		
White-Collar	27	26
(Administrative/Professional)	(9)	(11)
Blue-Collar	62	62
(Operative/Laborer)	(51)	(51)
Service	11	12
White		
White-Collar	50	61
(Administrative/Professional)	(31)	(29)
Blue-Collar	30	29
(Operative/Laborer)	(17)	(16)
Service	10	11
Black		
White-Collar	48	47
(Administrative/Professional)	(23)	(21)
Blue-Collar	35	36
(Operative/Laborer)	(28)	(26)
Service	17	17

SOURCE: Geographic Profile of Unemployment, 1971-1978, and 1981, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. Note: Data for Blacks for 1977 also includes the category "Other."

Within the blue-collar category, occupations requiring the lowest amount of skill and training are in the operative/laborer category. In 1977 and 1981, this category had the highest concentration of Latino workers. Latinos were the only group to have remained at previous levels in this occupational category between 1977 and 1981, while black and white employment rates both slightly decreased.

Industrial Trends Among Latinos

In order to evaluate the most current data, this section will turn to an analysis of data for 1980 and 1981 from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the Illinois Bureau of Employment Security. These data further illustrate the finding of Latino concentration in operative/laborer jobs and underrepresentation in administrative and professional ones. Because the EEOC reports cover only about 45 of the Chicago metropolitan labor force, these data are not directly comparable with those previously mentioned in regard to industrial distributions.

In 1980 virtually two-thirds (63.1 percent) of the metropolitan Chicago Latino labor force was employed in manufacturing industries (Table 9.4). This compared with concentrations of 43 percent of the black and 42 percent of the white labor forces. According to an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Report, of those Latinos employed in manufacturing in 1979, 75 percent were classified as workers within the operative/laborer category (Table 9.5).

9.4 EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRIAL SECTOR ACCORDING TO RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP, METROPOLITAN CHICAGO, 1980.

	Percent of Group Employed		
	Latino	White	Black
Industry			
Manufacturing	63	42	43
Services	14	15	19
Retail Trade	9	15	14
Transportation & Public Utilities	5	11	10
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	4	10	9
Wholesale Trade	4	6	4
Construction	1	1	1
Mining	0	0	0
All Employed	100	100	100

SOURCE: 1980 Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Report. Note: The E.E.O.C. Report covers about 45 percent of the Metropolitan Chicago Labor Force.

9.5 OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF LATINOS IN MANUFACTURING, METROPOLITAN CHICAGO, 1980.

	Percent of Latinos in Manufacturing
Occupation	
Operative/Laborer	75
Craft Worker	12
Office & Clerical Workers	4
Professional & Managerial	3
Service	3
Sales	1
Technicians	2
Total, Manufacturing	100

SOURCE: 1980 Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Report. Note: This covers about 45 percent of the Metropolitan Chicago Labor Force.

In all other industrial categories, except for wholesale trade, both whites and blacks had larger proportions of employees. In finance, insurance and real estate, black and white employment rates were both close to 10 percent, more than double the 4 percent Latino representation. Other than manufacturing, the only industrial category with a Latino employment rate greater than 10 percent is the service industry (14 percent).

Data from the Illinois Bureau of Employment Security for 1979 and 1981 offer the basic employment data for private sector jobs covered by the Illinois Unemployment Insurance Act. The information in the City of Chicago is arranged by zip-code areas. To study Latinos, the zip-code areas selected roughly corresponded to five areas including 70 percent of Latinos in the City. These zip-code areas overlap with non-Latino areas, but they describe the relevant community areas sufficiently to provide some idea of the local job profile for Latinos. Generally speaking, employment in the Latino areas of Chicago is primarily in manufacturing. However, the number of service jobs held by Latinos has been growing as manufacturing jobs decline (Table 9.6).

Manufacturing is the predominant industry in each of the areas selected. Only area 3 (Uptown-Lakeview) had more service jobs than manufacturing jobs. In area 2 (Little Village-Pilsen)--the most predominately Latino area--manufacturing accounted for 38 percent of the jobs. As total jobs in Latino areas declined up to 7 percent from 1979 to 1981, manufacturing jobs declined in each case between 5 and 13 percent. As the manufacturing industry declines, service industry employment appears to be on the increase, between 2 and 52 percent in the five areas. The total number of service jobs in the City increased by only 1 percent between 1979 and 1981. It therefore appears that service jobs, most likely hotel and restaurant jobs, are increasing significantly in Latino areas.

Between 1971 and 1981, only finance, insurance, and real estate showed a robust City-wide gain in employment, an increase of 7 percent. Movement into this industrial category was favorable in

9.6 INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED LATINOS IN SELECTED AREAS OF CHICAGO, 1981.

	Percent of Latinos Employed				
	Area 1	Area 2	Area 3	Area 4	Area 5
Total Jobs	58,413	39,332	30,437	32,111	24,140
Percent by Industry:					
Manufacturing	44	38	19	47	68
Service & Misc.	23	15	39	10	14
Retail Trade	11	9	12	17	9
Wholesale Trade	10	NA	3	15	3
Construction	7	3	3	4	3
Transportation	2	10	1	4	1
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	3	3	23	3	2
All Workers	100	100	100	100	100
Percent Change 1979-81:					
Total Jobs	-2	-2	0	-5	-7
Manufacturing	-5	-7	-13	-5	-12
Service & Misc.	+6	+52	+2	+15	+29
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	NA	-2	+10	+2	0

SOURCE: Where Workers Work, Illinois Bureau of Employment Security, 1979 and 1981 editions. Note: Area 1 consists of zip code areas 60622, 60651, 60647, or Hermosa, Logan Square, Humboldt Park and West Town, community areas that were 49 percent Latino in 1980. Area 2 is 60623 and 60608 or Little Village and Pilsen, 75 percent Latino. Area 3 is 60640 and 60613 or Uptown and Lakeview, 21 percent Latino. Area 4 consists of New City and Bridgeport, 31 percent Latino, and Area 5 is 60617 or South Chicago, East Side and South Deering, which are 30 percent Latino.

areas 3 and 4, but it was negative in the overwhelmingly Latino area 2, and in area 5.

The local industrial character of each area is reflected in its employment profile. Because of the railroad industry, area 2 has a higher percentage of jobs in transportation. The many manufacturing jobs in area 5 reflect the impact of the steel industry. Area 3, including the affluent north lakefront, has a higher proportion of service and finance, insurance, and real estate jobs. In general, Latino areas in Chicago are overburdened by declining industries. While there is an increase in service industry-employment in these areas, a similar expansion of the high growth industries has yet to occur.

Latino Women in the Labor Force

Census data show that Latino females were concentrated in the operative/laborer occupational categories: 37 percent of those employed. There was also a large concentration of Latino women in the administrative support category, about one quarter of the Latino female workers. (Table 9.7).

9.7 OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF LATINO WORKERS, METROPOLITAN CHICAGO, 1980.

	Percent of Group Employed	
	Total Latinos	Latino Females
Occupation		
Executive, Administrative and Managerial	4	4
Professional Specialty	4	6
Technicians & Related Support	1	1
Sales	5	7
Administrative Support & Clerical	14	25
Private Household	0	1
Protective Service	1	0
Other Service	13	12
Farming, Forestry, & Fishing	1	0
Precision Production, Craft & Repair	11	4
Machine Operators, Assembler, and Inspectors	28	28
Transportation & Material Moving	4	1
Handlers, Equipment Cleaners, Helpers & Laborers	11	9
Total Numbers	255,104 (9)	93,014 (96)

SOURCE: 1980 Census Summary Tape Tabulations. Note: as a result of rounding, percentages may not add to a total of 100.

Of Latino women, 40 percent were employed in growth industries, compared with 31 percent of all Latino workers. Latino women are less concentrated in manufacturing than Latino men: 56 compared with 64 percent. In addition, 18 percent of Latino women workers were in service industries, 11 percent in retail trade: and 8 percent in the expanding sector of finance, insurance, and real estate. (Table 9.8).

Summary and Conclusions

Latinos in metropolitan Chicago are concentrated in lower-paid manufaturing jobs. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 51 percent of all Latinos in the civilian labor force were employed within occupations in the operative/ laborer category. Data from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission indicates that 63 percent of Latinos were employed in manufacturing industries, and of those in manufacturing, 75 percent were employed in lesser-skilled or semi-skilled positions of the operative/ laborer level. Our statistics indicate that 47 percent of the Latino workers were employed at the lowest levels of manufacturing.

In contrast, few Latinos were employed in the higher ranks of occupation and industry--the administrative and professional levels at which both blacks and whites had higher percentages. Latinos were also underrepresented in high prestige industries such as finance, insurance, and real estate.

Latino women were somewhat less concentrated in manufacturing jobs. Almost 40 percent were employed in growth industries: services, retail trade, and

9.8 OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF LATINO WOMEN WORKERS, CHICAGO, 1980.

	Latino Women Workers
Industry	
Manufacturing	56
Services	18
Retail Trade	11
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	8
Transportation	4
Wholesale Trade	2
Construction	1
Mining	0
Total (43,610)	100

SOURCE: 1980 Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Report. Note: This covers about 46 percent of the total metropolitan Chicago labor force.

finance, insurance, and real estate. In addition, 25 percent were in administrative support occupations.

The current composition of the Latino labor force suggests disturbing insights into the future. Latinos are concentrated in an economic sector which lost over 100,000 jobs in metropolitan Chicago during the past decade. In addition, Latinos have not been extensively employed in higher-skilled occupations or higher-prestige industries. Only thirty percent of the Latino labor force is engaged in the four growth industries.

Northwestern Indiana

Latinos compose 8 percent of the labor force in the Gary-Hammond metropolitan Area (Northwestern Indiana), compared with 19 percent black and 73 percent white. Latino workers in Northwestern Indiana are also concentrated in operative/laborer occupations. According to data from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, over half of the Latinos in Northwestern Indiana were employed in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs: 54 percent, or almost double the percentage of white workers. However, unlike in metropolitan Chicago, blacks in Northwestern Indiana were even more concentrated in operative/laborer occupations than Latinos. In 1980, 55 percent of the black labor force was employed at the lowest levels of the occupational distribution. In this area 23 percent of the Latino workers were employed in craft or skilled manual jobs, double the percentage in metropolitan Chicago. This compares with 18 percent of the black labor force and 27 percent of the white labor force.(Table 9.9).

Just as in metropolitan Chicago, Latinos were underrepresented in high-prestige occupations. Only 6 percent of Latinos were employed in administrative/professional jobs, compared with 8 percent of blacks and 22 percent of whites in the labor force.

Of the nine categories of occupation designated by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, six experienced declines in employment between 1978 and 1980: technicians, sales workers, craft workers, operatives, laborers, and service workers (Table 9.10). According to the Commission's Report, 87 percent of Latino workers were in these occupations, the same percentage as blacks, and higher than 71 percent for white workers. Only three occupations experienced growth between 1978 and 1980: officials and managers, professionals, and office and clerical workers. While one-third of the white labor force was concentrated in these occupations, only 13 percent of the Latino labor force was employed in these jobs.

Although total employment in Northwestern Indiana decreased by 3 percent between 1978 and 1980, Latino employment actually increased by 6 percent. This occurred at a time when black and white employment decreased by 1 percent and 5 percent respectively (Table 9.11). Again we see the effects of increasing Latino participation in the labor force. The combination of rising unemployment and higher labor force participation found in the Chicago metropolitan area was evident in Northwestern Indiana as well.

9.9 OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP, NORTHWESTERN INDIANA, 1980.

	Percent Distribution		
	Latino	White	Black
Occupation			
Officials & Managers	3	13	3
Professionals	1	5	2
Technicians	2	4	3
Sales Workers	3	6	3
Office and Clerical Workers	8	12	8
Craft Workers	23	27	18
Operatives	38	21	39
Laborers	17	7	16
Services	5	5	8
Total	100	100	100

SOURCE: 1980 Equal Employment Opportunity Report

9.10 GROWTH OR DECLINE IN OCCUPATIONS, NORTHWESTERN INDIANA, 1978-1980.

	Percent Change	1978 Jobs	1980 Jobs
Occupation			
Officials & Managers	+2	13,382	13,697
Professionals	+8	5,588	6,026
Technicians	-3	5,447	5,310
Sales Workers	-2	7,170	7,307
Office & Clerical	+3	14,164	14,570
Craft Workers	-7	35,567	33,269
Operatives	-4	35,369	33,860
Laborers	-9	14,383	13,028
Service Workers	-4	7,640	7,315
Total	-3	138,716	134,382

SOURCE: 1980 Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Report

9.11 GROWTH OR DECLINE IN EMPLOYMENT OF RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUPS, NORTHWESTERN INDIANA, 1978-1980.

	1978	1980	Percent Change
Group			
Latinos	9,445	9,988	+6
Whites	103,228	98,228	-5
Blacks	25,509	25,380	-1
Total	138,716	134,382	-3
Latino Women	1,504	1,822	+21

SOURCE: 1980 Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Report.

As in metropolitan Chicago, Latino women were less employed in operative/laborer jobs than Latino men, 31 percent or less than two-thirds the 55 percent for all Latino workers (Table 9.12). Latino women were working primarily as office and clerical workers, 36 percent. In addition, 40 percent of Latino women are concentrated in occupational categories which had increased in employment. Overall, Latino women experienced a 21 percent increase in employment between 1978 and 1980.

9.12 OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF LATINO WORKERS, NORTHWESTERN INDIANA, 1980.

	Percent	
	Total	Women
Occupation		
Officials & Managers	3	2
Professionals	1	3
Technicians	2	4
Sales Workers	3	12
Office & Clerical	8	36
Craft Workers	23	2
Operatives	38	18
Laborers	17	13
Services	5	10
All Workers	100	100

SOURCE: 1980 Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Report.

Summary

As in metropolitan Chicago, Latino workers in Northwestern Indiana were concentrated in low-skilled occupations. The primary difference was that the black labor force in Northwestern Indiana appears worse off than the black labor force in metropolitan Chicago. Despite their concentration in low-skill occupations, the number of Latinos employed increased between 1978 and 1980. This occurred at a time when total employment for Northwestern indiana declined by 3 percent. Finally, we see that as in Chicago, Latino women are in a more promising position than Latinos in general. According to the 1980 EEOC Report, 40 percent of Latino women were employed in growth occupations, compared with only 13 percent among all Latino workers.

10. LATINOS IN CITY JOBS

In fiscal year 1982, 1,416 Latinos were employed by the City of Chicago, less than 4 percent of all full-time municipal government employees; 10,765 (27 percent) were black and 27,144 (69 percent) were white. (Table 10.1) Obviously, Latinos and blacks were underrepresented in terms of their proportion of Chicago's population.

10.1 FULL-TIME CITY EMPLOYEES BY RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP, CHICAGO, FISCAL YEAR 1982.

	Percent of Full Time Employees		
	Total	Male	Female
Group			
Latino	4	3	1
Black	27	17	10
White	68	60	8
Total*	99	80	19

SOURCE: Chicago Urban League tabulation of EEOC State and Local Government Information (EEO-4) Reporting Forms for the City of Chicago, Fiscal Year 1982. *Note: The sum of percentages does not equal 100 because Asians, Pacific Islanders, American Indians, and Alaskan Natives are not presented.

Latino men were almost three times as likely as Latino women to be employed by the City, and black men about one and one half times as much as black women. Whites showed the widest gender gap: over 7 times as many white men were employed by the City as white women.(17)

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission requires cities to group their departments and agencies under specific, standardized "function" categories. Chicago uses 11 of these categories. Proportions of groups in the various functional categories are examined here.

In fiscal year 1982, 2 of the 11 function categories, "Health" and "Other", had the largest proportion of Latino workers: 6 percent (Table 10.2). These categories also had the largest proportion of Latino women. The "Health" function was made up of the Department of Health, while the "Other" function was a grouping of several departments and agencies: the Department of Human Services, Municipal Reference Library, Mayor's Office of Senior Citizens and Handicapped, Commission on Human Relations, Chicago Council on Fine Arts, Mayor's Office for Child Care Services, Department of Energy and Enviromental Protection, Chicago Public Library, and the Commission on Animal Care and Control. In this chapter, "Other" will be referred to as "Human Services and Libraries". (For more detail regarding functional categories, see Appendix, entry 17).

10.2 DISTRIBUTION OF CITY EMPLOYEES BY RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP, ACCORDING TO FUNCTION CATEGORIES, CHICAGO, FISCAL YEAR 1982.

	Percent of Function Category		
	Health	Human Services & Libraries	Streets & Highways
Group			
Latino	6	6	2
White	38	37	77
Black	50	55	20
Total*	94	98	99

SOURCE: Chicago Urban League tabulation of EEOC State and Local Government Infomation (EEO-4) Reporting Forms for the City of Chicago, Fiscal Year 1982. *Note: Sum of percentages does not add to 100 because Asians, Pacific Islanders, American Indians, and Alaskan Natives are not presented.

Human Services and Libraries also contained the largest proportion of black city employees (55 percent), and the smallest proportion of total white city employees, 37 percent. The function category with the smallest proportion of Latinos was "Streets and Highways": 2 percent. This category was composed of the Department of Public Works, and the Department of Streets and Sanitation (Bureaus of: Parking, Streets, Street Traffic, Equipment Service, Electricity, and Electrical Wiring Communications).

Human Services and Libraries

One explanation for the large minority

presence in the Human Services and Libraries could be the organizational structure of this function. For example, the Chicago telephone directory for 1982 listed over 100 "extension" or "community service" centers throughout the City. these branch offices would seem to require employees capable of relating to local residents. For example, in an area of Spanish speakers, Spanish-speaking employees would seem useful and placement of Latino employees would seem likely.

Of the 126 Latino employees in Health, 49 percent were in the "Office and Clerical" occupation category. This category also had the largest proportion of Latino women in the Health function: 66 percent. Latino men were mainly in the Professional category with 13 jobs, or 31 percent of their number. Professional jobs were skilled positions, requiring some training, either through school or work experience. The description of the Office and Clerical category also indicates acquisition of skills needed to process information.

As seen in table 10.3, it seems that a few Latinos were hired to fill these skilled positions. One reason why Latinos were not present in these categories as frequently as blacks and whites could be their traditionally weak political influence. With Chicago's well-known patronage system, Latinos, as the newest major group on the political scene, may not have the influence needed to obtain City jobs. The few Latinos in highly visible positions included Mayor Byrne's appointment of Hugo Muriel as Director of the Department of Health, and other appointments to the Chicago School Board.

Streets and Highways

Of the few Latinos working in "Streets and Highways", 60 percent were in "Service and Maintenance" jobs, a proportion higher than for white men (38 percent) but lower than for black men (64 percent). Of Latino women in the Streets and Highways function, 71 percent worked in Office and Clerical positions, higher than black women (64 percent), but lower than white women (73 percent). No Latino women worked in other categories above Office and Clerical. Black women, while not working as Officals and Administrators, were found in all other occupational categories, while white

10.3 DISTRIBUTION OF CITY EMPLOYEES BY SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES IN THE HEALTH FUNCTION, ACCORDING TO RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUPS AND GENDER, CHICAGO, FISCAL YEAR 1982.

Occupational Categories in Health	Percent Distribution								
	Latino			Black			White		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
Officials & Administrators	2	7	0	3	9	2	7	13	4
Professionals	18	31	11	23	26	22	48	57	42
Office & Clerical	49	17	66	29	15	32	24	9	35
Other Categories	31	45	23	45	50	44	21	21	19
All Workers	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

SOURCE: Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, State and Local Government Information (EEO-4) Reporting Forms, Fiscal Year 1982, City of Chicago, Health Function Category.

women were also found in all categories, except Protective Services. The most striking characteristics of workers in this function was the lack of Latinos in the Officials and Administrators category, and the absence of Latino women in categories above Office and Clerical.

New Hires

Of the 2,484 full-time City employees hired in fiscal year 1982, 156 or 6 percent were Latino. Of this number, 118 (76 percent) were male and 38 (24 percent) were female. As a group, Latinos composed a higher percentage of the new hires than their percentage of previously hired city workers, or 4 percent. However, 6 percent is still far less than the 17 percent of Chicago's population which Latinos represent.

The function with the largest proportion of full-time Latino new hires was Health, with 10 percent Latino. Health also had the largest proportion of newly hired Latino women. These new hires were mainly in the Technicians occupational category. Although small, these figures represent an advance in occupational skill level. As in the past, Latino women were concentrated in Office and Clerical jobs.

In contrast, the Natural Resources function had no Latino new hires. Natural Resources was composed of the Department of Streets and Sanitation's Bureau of Forestry, Parkways, and Beautification, and the Division of Parks and Recreation. In Streets and Highways, 21 Latinos were hired, or 5 percent of the total 457 new hires. Only 2 Latino women were hired in the Office and Clerical category. Male Latino new hires were mainly in the Skilled Craft category (8 workers), as were black and white males, with 34 and 131 "new hires" respectively. Skilled Craft is a category above Service Maintenance, indicating a higher skill level.

10.4 DISTRIBUTION OF CITY EMPLOYEES BY SELECTED CATEGORIES IN THE STREETS AND HIGHWAY FUNCTION, ACCORDING TO RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP AND GENDER, CHICAGO, FISCAL YEAR 1982.

Occupational Categories in Streets & Highways	Percent Distribution								
	Latino			Black			White		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
Officials & Administrators	0	0	0	1	1	0	3	3	3
Office & Clerical	7	1	71	12	3	62	7	3	73
Service-Maintenance	56	60	14	59	64	29	36	38	7
Other Categories	37	39	15	28	32	9	54	56	17
All Workers	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

SOURCE: Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, State and Local Government Information (EEO-4) Reporting Forms, Fiscal Year 1982, City of Chicago, Streets and Highways Category.

10.5 FULL TIME CITY EMPLOYEES HIRED, CHICAGO, FISCAL YEAR 1982.

	Percent of "New Hires"		
	Total	Male	Female
Group			
Latino	6	5	1
Black	28	18	10
White	64	51	13
Total*	98	74	24

SOURCE: Chicago Urban League tabulations of EEOC State and Local Government Information (EEO-4) Reporting Forms, Chicago, Fiscal Year 1982. *Note: The sum of percentages does not equal 100 because Asians, Pacific Islanders, American Indians and Alaskan Natives are not presented.

Conclusion

Overall, Latinos are underrepresented in the City's workforce. The proportion of Latinos employed by the City in 1982 was far below their proportion in the population. The Latino percentage of newly hired employees was somewhat higher than their participation level in the City workforce, but it remained below the percentage of Latinos in Chicago. Latinos were concentrated in a few of the City's function categories. The function categories analyzed here were only 3 of 11 used by the City of Chicago, and do not give a complete picture of the occupational distribution of those Latinos who work for the City. However, the presence of Latinos in these function categories indicates both Latinos' qualifications for certain positions, and the uneven distribution of these positions among Latinos, blacks and whites.

11. LATINO PARTICIPATION IN CETA PROGRAMS

By enacting the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) of 1973, Congress committed itself to train and employ the economically disadvantaged of America. Throughout the late 1970s, many criticized CETA as being wasteful and unproductive. The Reagan Administration quickly moved to dismantle CETA and replace it with a program placing greater emphasis on the private sector: the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA). As we make the transition form CETA to JTPA, it is useful to examine CETA's impact on its participants. Our analysis indicates that CETA was a success among Chicago's Latino population.

It is important to note that the foundation of this report is based upon data collected internally by the Mayor's Office of Employment and Training of the City of Chicago. While it is clearly an imperfect data source, to our knowledge, it is also the only one available.

CETA Programs by Title

The following explanation of program titles was drawn from the Employment and Training Administration's Highlights:

Title II-B, Comprehensive Employment and Training Services. This program provided work experience and training both in and out of the classroom for occupational and other skills. Participants were by definition economically disadvantaged, and either unemployed, underemployed, or in school.

Title II-B: Vocational Education. The vocational education program differed from Title 11-B above in that it offered training of a technical nature, such as word processing and data processing.

Title II-D: Public Service Employment. This program provided "transitional employment opportunities for the economically disadvantaged. These opportunities were entry-level public service jobs, combined with related training and services, designed to help participants move into unsubsidized jobs. Participants had to live in the areas served and be economically disadvantaged and unemployed for at least fifteen weeks, or be on welfare.

Title IV Youth Employment and Training Program (YETP). These programs were designed to have a long-term effect on youth unemployment by giving young people useful work experience and employment, education, training, and related services to supplement, but not replace, the service provided by Title II comprehensive programs. Participants were unemployed, underemployed, and in-school youth, aged 16-21, plus those aged 14 and 15 at the discretion of the Secretary of Labor.

Title IV Youth Community Conservation and Improvement Projects (YCCIP). Unemployed youth aged 16 through 19, with emphasis on those out of school, are eligible for projects of local benefit such as improving neighborhoods and communities, and maintaining and restoring natural resources in publicly-owned land.

Title VI Countercyclical Public Service Employment Jobs. These were temporary, served community needs, and if possible, were in expanding occupations. The number of jobs authorized varied with the national unemployment rate. Participants had to live in the areas served, have been unemployed for at least ten of the last twelve weeks and have low incomes or be on welfare.

Title V11 Private Sector Initiative Program (PSIP). The program "offers private enterprise the opportunity to participate directly in the CETA program." Private industry Councils (PICS), "made up of large, small and minority business people, community leaders, educators, and organized labor" develop training, ungrading internship, and cooperative education progams in response to local employment needs.

CETA Participants

The Latino presence in CETA programs increased as a proportion of total participants from 17 percent to 21 percent between Fiscal Years 1980 and 1982, a 23 percent increase (Table 11.1). However, the actual number of Latino participants decreased from 6,724 to 4,335, a drop of about a third, because of deep cuts in federal funding. Black CETA participants experienced a steeper decline in actual numbers, from 28,477 to 14,301. Proportionally, total black participation declined by 5 percent, from 72 to 69 percent of the entire program. Whites experienced the steepest drop in actual numbers, from 3,496 to 1,489. Their total proportion of the program decreased from 9 to 7 percent.

Age distribution of CETA participants in fiscal year 1981 reveals that one-third of Latinos in all CETA programs were between the ages of 16 and 19, while almost half were between the ages of 22 and 44 (Table 11.2). This pattern was characteristic of blacks and whites as well. There were, however, slightly less 16 to 19 year-olds and more participants 55 years and older among whites.

Latino CETA participants in Fiscal Year 1981 were 52 percent men and 48 percent women, similar to whites, who had 51 percent men and 49 percent women. In contrast, blacks had less men (47 percent) than women (53 percent). Latino men outnumbered Latino women in three titles: II-D by 53 percent; IV(YCCIP) by 83 percent; and VI by 39 percent. Latino women slightly outnumbered Latino men in the largest program, II-B by 0.7 percent; in IV(YETP), by 29 percent; and in VII, one of the most successful programs for Latino participants, by 19 percent.

The same data for Fiscal Year 1981 also showed that Latino and white participants were roughly equivalent in limited English speaking ability (Table 11.3). (18) In the largest program, Title II-B, as well as in II-D and VI, a greater percentage of whites had limited English speaking ability. Higher proportions of Latino limited-English speaking participants were found in titles IV(YCCIP), IV(YETP), and VII. In Title VII, 26 percent of Latinos had limited English speaking ability.

11.1 RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP DISTRIBUTION OF CETA PARTICIPANTS, CHICAGO, 1980-82.

	Percent of Total Participants			
	Total	Latino	White	Black
Fiscal Year				
1980	39,410	17	9	72
1981	34,570	18	7	73
1982	20,742	21	7	69
Combined Year Totals*	94,722	18	8	72

SOURCE: Quarterly Summary of Participant Characteristics, 1980 and Annual Report of Detailed Characteristics, 1981 (CETA, Chicago). *Note: The table sum of percentages does not total 100 because Alaskan Natives, Asian or Pacific Islanders were not presented.

11.2 AGE DISTRIBUTION OF CETA PARTICIPANTS BY RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP, CHICAGO, FISCAL YEAR 1981.

	Percent of Group		
	Latino	White	Black
Age			
14-15	4	3	4
16-19	33	22	36
20-21	12	7	11
22-44	47	48	44
45-54	3	8	2
55+	1	12	3
All Ages	100	100	100
Total Number of Participants	6,148	2,536	25,310

SOURCE: Annual Report of Detailed Characteristics, Fiscal Year 1981, CETA Chicago.

11.3 LIMITED ENGLISH SPEAKING ABILITY OF CETA PARTICIPANTS BY PROGRAM TITLE, CHICAGO, FISCAL YEAR 1981.

	Percent Limited English		
	Total	Latino	White
Program Title			
II-B	100	17	23
II-D	100	2	6
IV-YCCIP	100	3	0
IV-YETP	100	3	1
VI	100	1	1
VII	100	26	4
Combined Program Total	100	12	12

SOURCE: Annual Summary of Detailed Characteristics, Chicago, CETA, Fiscal Year 1981. Note: Less than 0.5 percent of black CETA participants had limited English speaking ability

In Fiscal Year 1981, 26 percent of Latino CETA participants received public assistance, compared with 21 percent of whites and 49 percent of blacks. Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) was the type of aid received most by all three groups, with Latinos again receiving more than whites, 20 versus 14 percent, and less than blacks, 38 percent. However, among men, only 20 percent of Latinos received aid, compared with 21 percent of white males and 40 percent of black males.

Latinos had the highest percentage of school dropouts among CETA participants in Fiscal Year 1981, and lowest rate of post-secondary education (Table 11.4). Whites had the highest percentage of participants with at a least high school degree, while blacks were most represented in the high school or less education category. These statistics resemble our findings regarding high school attrition in Chapter 7, Table 7.4 and related text. Briefly, we found that Latinos had the highest rate of school-age dropouts and adults without high school diplomas.

CETA Representation

To determine whether participants in CETA were representative of the unemployed, we compared Latino CETA participation with data on the Latino proportion of all workers who were unemployed, and found a disproportionate representation favorable toward Latinos. In 1980, 17 percent of CETA participants were Latino, while Latinos made up 8 percent of persons unemployed, according to the Illinois Bureau of Employment Security. (19) In Fiscal Year 1982, Latinos in CETA again exceeded their proportion of the unemployed, comprising 15 percent of the unemployed and 21 percent of CETA participants. Caution is necessary in making such comparisons. First, CETA was directed to the unemployed, and the underemployed, as well. Although no data were found regarding underemployment in Chicago, national statistics indicate that Latinos are particularly vulnerable to this problem. Secondly, there is sufficient cause to believe that there is an undercount of Latino unemployment. Among other reasons, the undercount results

11.4 EDUCATION LEVELS OF CETA PARTICIPANTS, BY RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP, CHICAGO, FISCAL YEAR 1981.

	Percent of Total Group Participants		
	Latino	White	Black
Level of Education			
School Dropout	38	20	25
High School or Less	23	19	30
H.S. Grad. or Equivalent	29	31	30
Post High School	10	30	15
All Participants	100	100	100
Number of Participants	6,148	2,536	25,320

SOURCE: Annual Detailed Characteristics, Chicago CETA, Fiscal Year 1981.

from counting only those unemployed who have at one time been employed. Because the Latino population is young and includes many new arrivals by migration, it tends to have a large number of workers entering the labor force for the first time. A complete analysis of CETA's effects on the unemployed should take these factors into account.

Placement Rates

The success or failure of CETA must be judged upon its effectiveness in reaching the goal of its legislative mandate. Section 2 of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973 states the law's purpose as: "Providing job training and employment opportunities for economically disadvantaged, unemployed and underemployed persons, and to assure that training and other services lead to maximum employment opportunities." (Cited in U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1982).

Data from Fiscal Years 1980 and 1982 indicate that among Latinos in Chicago, CETA was relatively successful. In Fiscal year 1980, 60 percent of Latino participants completed the program. Of those, close to 40 percent obtained either employment or returned to school. (Table 11.5). This compares with a 26 percent placement rate among local black CETA completions, and 25 percent among whites. In Fiscal Year 1982, the results were even more impressive: 84 percent of Latino participants completed the program, and over half (52 percent) were successfully placed (Table 11.6). This compares with placement rates of 32 percent for blacks and 41 percent for whites.

While the placement rate increased for Latinos in CETA between Fiscal Year 1980 and Fiscal Year 1982 by a proportion of 38 percent, the actual number of placements increased proportionately by only 15 percent. The slower rate of increase is primarily caused by the steady reduction in the number of participants.

Within the structure of CETA, the two most successful programs were clearly Title II-B and Title VII. In both Fiscal Year 1980 and Fiscal year 1982, these two programs achieved success rates close to or greater than 50 percent for Latino participants.

Hopefully the Job Training Partnership Act, which will replace CETA in Fiscal Year 1984 will expand the role of the private sector in employment programs and work as well for Chicago's Latinos. A summary of the act in Economic Development News, December 1982, describes JTPA as reflecting: "The evolution of federal jobs programs over the last several years. The Department of Labor has virtually withdrawn from any role in the planning and administration of local job training programs. Instead, local governments and restructured

11.5 PLACEMENT AND COMPLETION PERCENTAGES BY RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP AND PROGRAM TITLE, CHICAGO, FISCAL YEAR 1980.

Percent Completion by Title	Latino	White	Black
II-B	48	40	35
II-D	14	16	10
IV-YETP	21	16	15
IV-YCCIP	8	0	8
VI-PSE	18	20	25
VII	100	60	97
All Programs	38	25	26
Percent Placement by Title			
II-B	56	41	33
II-B VOC Ed	28	14	24
IV-YETP	6	6	9
VII	55	66	53
All Programs	52	41	32

SOURCE: Quarterly Summary of Participant Characteristics, Chicago CETA, Fiscal Year 1980.
Note: Title VII placement rates represent only 3 whites, 6 Latinos and 161 blacks

Private Industry Councils will now jointly plan and carry out these activities."

Conclusions

Our study of the Chicago CETA program from Fiscal Year 1980 through Fiscal Year 1982 produced evidence to support five major findings which reflect the program's effects in the Latino community:

1) Among racial/ethnic groups, Latinos achieved the highest placement rate. In two of the years studied, Fiscal Year 1980 and Fiscal year 1982, 3,542 Latino participants in CETA either returned to school or found employment.

2) The proportion of CETA participants who were Latino was greater than the proportion of Latinos unemployed.

3) Although the number of Latino participants declined over three years, the proportion of Latino participants in the program increased.

4) Close to 40 percent of Latino participants in Fiscal Year 1981 had not completed high school, confirming the findings presented in Chapter 7 regarding school attrition.

5) The proportion of white CETA participants classified as having limited English speaking ability was roughly equivalent to that of Latinos in Fiscal Year 1981.

12. CONCLUSIONS

Our project was to study the problems confronting Latinos in the Chicago area today, with particular emphasis on housing and job opportunities. Our task was to find out what was happening and examine some of the governmental activities that should be assisting Latinos. It was not our task to recommend policy, beyond the suggestions that are immediately apparent from an analysis of facts. We hope that this will help in the discussion of policy priorities among the citizens and leaders of the City, both those who are Latino and other members of the community.

Certain basic findings are, of course, self-evident. Latinos make up a large and very rapidly growing presence in the City and surrounding areas. Their role in Chicago's economy is growing at an astonishing rate. They are not becoming fully integrated in the City nor the suburbs. They are not receiving access to a fair share of subsidized housing or home ownership programs. Their educational situation is distressing and severely threatens their future job opportunities in Chicago's changing economy. On a more hopeful note, our research shows that education and training programs do make a significant difference for Latinos and must have high priority. Unfortunately, budgets for these programs have severely eroded.

Chicago is no longer an exclusively black and white society. Latinos cannot be ignored without serious risk to their communities, the larger society, and the economy of the metropolitan area. In every important aspect of government policy and program implementation, Chicago's leaders and citizens alike must adapt to this new reality.

FOOTNOTES

1. Unless indicated, all data is from 1980 Census Report PC80-1-B15, Characteristics of the Population, and the 1980 Census Tape STF-3.

2. Illinois Department of Public Aid, June 1982.

3. 1970 Census of Population and Housing (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office).

4. In 1970, the Census asked respondents several different questions on ethnicity, including "Spanish Surname" and "Spanish Heritage." In 1980, the Census asked a single question of all respondents, whether they were of "Spanish Origin". Persons who answered affirmatively were to specify Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or "Other Spanish" orgin. "Other Spanish" refers primarily to persons of Central or South American descent. This makes comparison of the two censuses somewhat difficult and caution must be taken when doing so.

5. The Annual Housing Survey is sponsored by the US Department of Housing and Urban Development and conducted by the U.S. Bureau of the Census. The report presents statistics on housing and household characteristics of large metropolitan areas throughout the country. The latest data available for the Chicago metropolitan area was the 1975 Survey; a new survey will be released in the near furture.

6. The Chicago Reporter published an article in January 1979, citing the low participation rate of minorities in the Bilandic low-interest mortgage program. Latinos were reported to have received only 6.7 percent of the total of loans. Figures on the latest city low-interest program is not yet accessible.

7. For 1970, we assumed that only a few families who were living in CHA Family Housing earned over $10,000. The median income of CHA Family Housing residents was $4175, and while 29 percent earned over $6000, the income limit to qualify for residency was $6900 for a family of four, $7590 for 5, and $8280 for 6. This permitted us to assume that members of the racial groups also earned no more than $10,000. This assumption is necessary because the CHA does not provide income data on the racial groups living in its units. We could thus divide the number of families in a racial group living in CHA housing by the total number of families of that group in the city that earned less than $10,000 in 1970 to determine a participation rate. For 1980, we made the same assumptions for an income level of $20,000, since the median income of CHA Family Program participants was $5100 and only 14% of these families earned over $10,000. We could then proceed with similar calculations.

8. This statistic required further calculations of available data. First, tract level calculations were necessary. Only numbers of persons under the federal proverty line were available at the tract level. We divided these raw numbers by the average family size for each racial group in order to determine the number of families in that tract. This was necessary because the CHA provides its data for families only. Next, we divided the number of families of each race in the particular project by our derived number of families in the immediate area under the poverty line. This step did not seem to alter the accuracy of the participation rate, since the poverty line income standard included most of the CHA families. In 1979, the poverty line income standard was $7412 for a family of 4; $8775 for 5; and $9914 for 6. We know that 14 percent of the Family Program participants earned more than $10,000 in 1980, so most of the families of each racial group earned less than the federal poverty line income. In this case, income eligibility refers to those under the poverty line, not those under a specified income level, as was the case earlier.

9. The Geographic Profile of Employment and Unemployment used "Blacks and others" as a category until 1981. This category included all persons who identified themselves as other than white. In the 1970 Census, 89 percent of the "Black and other" category were black, the rest were primarily American Indians, Alaskan natives, and Asians and Pacific Islanders. Some figures for the black only population were available in 1980, while figures for 1977-79 are rough estimates for the black population. "Latino" in this chapter refers to the "Hispanic origin" population, defined in the Geographic Profile as persons who identified themselves as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central American, South American or of other Hispanic origin or descent. In 1981, Hispanic origin was defined exclusive of race, but from 1977 to 1980 was included in data for both white and "Black and other" categories. The sampling errors for the Hispanic origin population were unavailable until 1980, when they were based upon sampling error for the "Black and other" population category. Since the Hispanic population is smaller, estimates for the groups are likely to have a wider error range. (Geographic Profile, 1980-81).

10. For 1977 through 1979, the percent employed of the civilian non-institutional population was not given in the Geographic Profile. The percentages shown here were calculated by the author.

11. Error ranges for the unemployment rates for "Black and others" and whites were calculated at 90 percent confidence intervals for 1977-79, and for all groups, including Hispanic origin, from 1980-81. However, for 1977, error ranges for the Hispanic-origin population in metropolitan areas were not available.

12. Figures for the 16-19 year old Latino population were calculated by the author when not given in the Geographic Profile, by subtracting the number of Hispanic-origin men and women 20 years and older from the total Hispanic-origin labor force and number unemployed.

13. Data from the Gary/Hammond metropolitan area was obtained by combining data from Lake and Porter counties found in Advance Estimates of Social, Economic and Housing Characteristics, State and Selected Metropolitan Areas, 1980 Census of Population and Housing. Data for the Chicago metropolitan area was obtained from Provisional Estimates of Social, Economic, and Housing Characteristics, States and Selected Metropolitan Areas, 1980 Census of Population and Housing. Information on the "Spanish-origin" population in Advance Estimates was derived from both 1980 100-percent and sample tabulations (Advance Estimates, p. B-4). "Labor force" as used in these publications includes miitary personnel.

14. The Latino population 16 years and older in the Houston metropolitan area increased 97 percent, and the Latino labor force increased 104 percent between 1977 and 1981. During this period the SMSA boundary definition upon which data for the Hispanic origin population was based changed, and may account for part of this increase.

15. Illinois Bureau of Employment Security determines employment based upon data collected for unemployment insurance. This method, while the most comprehensive available, is still imperfect.

16. No data are available on the communications industry for 1972 to 1978. In addition, communications is not considered in subsequent sections on industrial trends. This results from its absence from data furnished by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

17. The data in this section are primarily taken from EEOC State and Local Government Information (EEO-4) reporting forms, which do not include school systems and educational institutions. Tabulations of the forms

done by the Chicago Urban League were also used. Other sources are cited.

18.Limited English speaking ability is defined by CETA as having a non-English native language and having such poor ability to speak English that it is considered a job handicap. Richard Kaszuba, Director of Management Information Services in the Mayor's Office of Employment and Training, was unsure what accounted for the unexpectedly high proportion of white limited English speakers. He speculated that South Americans classifying themselves as white, and illiterate Appalachian whites as possible members of this category. Kaszuba emphasized that program participants categorize themselves as white, black or Latino.

19.Illinois Bureau of Employment Security, Labor Force Information for Affirmative Action Programs, 1980, Vol. 1 and 1982 supplement. This publication reflects the annual averages, rather than averages by fiscal year. Therefore, comparisons are between FY 1980 and FY 1979. This was done for two reasons: a) part of FY 1980 is in 1979, and b) this allows the annual average to serve as representation predictor.

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APPENDIX

1. LATINOS IN CHICAGO-GARY URBANIZED AREA, BY COUNTY

Area	Total Population	Latino Population	Percent Latino	Percent of Total Latinos
Cook	525,3655	49,322	9.0	79.6
DuPage	658,835	17,302	2.6	2.8
Kane	440,372	21,064	4.8	3.4
McHenry	147,897	3,025	2.0	0.5
Will	324,460	13,778	4.2	4.2
Lake(IN)	522,965	43,932	8.4	7.0
Porter	119,816	2,689	2.2	0.4
Total	7,746,405	627,230	8.1	100.0

2. DISTRIBUTION OF SUBGROUPS IN LATINO POPULATION, CHICAGO-GARY REGION, BY COUNTY

Area	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Cuban	Latinos Other
Cook	62.2	23.3	3.2	11.3
DuPage	66.4	7.3	5.1	21.3
Kane	76.1	16.0	1.0	6.8
Lake	64.8	17.5	1.0	15.7
Will	80.0	6.2	1.3	11.7
McHenry	79.4	3.7	2.3	14.5
Lake(IN)	70.9	21.1	0.9	7.1
Porter	56.9	20.6	2.5	20.0
Total Metro Area	64.0	21.8	2.9	11.3

3. LATINO POPULATION IN CHICAGO SELECTED COMMUNITY AREAS

Area	Latino Population	Percent Latino	Percent of Total Latinos
30. Little Village	55,700	74.1	13.2
24. West Town	54,691	56.7	12.9
22. Logan Square	43,829	51.7	10.4
31. Pilsen	34,876	77.6	8.3
23. Humboldt Park	28,872	40.8	6.8
61. Back of the Yards	19,945	40.8	4.7
6. Lake View	18,333	18.8	4.3
46. South Chicago	18,229	NA	4.3
3. Uptown	14,984	23.3	3.5
14. Albany Park	9,074	19.7	2.1
77. Edgewater	7,805	13.3	1.8
5. North Center	6,684	19.0	1.6
1. Rogers Park	6,621	11.9	1.6
60. Bridgeport	6,584	21.3	1.6
20. Hermosa	6,101	31.2	1.4
7. Lincoln Park	5,991	10.5	1.4
4. Lincoln Square	4,973	10.6	1.4
66. Chicago Lawn	4,940	10.6	1.2
51. South Deering	4,763	24.6	1.1
58. Brighton Park	4,539	14.7	1.1
63. Gage Park	2,701	11.0	0.6
52. East Side	2,678	12.6	0.6
Total, Selected Community Areas		32.2	85.7
Total City	422,063	14.0	100.0

4. DISTRIBUTION OF LATINO SUBGROUPS IN CHICAGO COMMUNITY AREAS

Area	Latino Population	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Cuban	Latinos Other
30. Little Village	55,700	91.9	4.4	0.2	3.5
24. West Town	54,691	42.9	52.0	0.7	4.3
22. Logan Square	43,829	34.1	54.3	3.6	12.7
31. Pilsen	34,867	92.3	4.5	0.1	3.1
23. Humboldt Park	28,872	30.7	61.5	1.1	6.6
61. Back of the Yards	19,945	30.7	9.1	0.1	4.3
46. South Chicago	18,229	87.5	8.1	0.2	4.1
3. Uptown	14,984	52.2	19.3	5.6	22.7
14. Albany Park	9,074	35.8	26.0	10.4	27.7
77. Edgewater	7,805	37.7	34.2	18.5	31.6
5. North Center	6,684	38.7	34.6	5.6	21.1
1. Rogers Park	6,621	61.5	6.3	8.5	23.7
60. Bridgeport	6,584	90.4	4.9	0.1	4.7
20. Hermosa	6,101	33.0	55.3	2.8	8.9
7. Lincoln Park	5,991	49.4	35.3	2.5	12.0
4. Lincoln Square	4,973	31.5	14.8	3.8	38.2
66. Chicago Lawn	4,940	76.9	13.4	0.7	8.9
51. South Deering	4,763	93.3	3.6	0.1	2.9
58. Brighton Park	4,539	86.9	4.8	0.7	7.5
63 Gage Park	2,701	79.0	12.6	0.3	8.1
Total City		60.6	26.0	2.7	10.1

5. DISTRIBUTION OF LATINO SUBGROUPS IN CHICAGO LATINO "SECTORS"

Region	Percent by Origin				
	Latinos	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Cuban	Latinos Other
West Town	100	36.9	55.0	1.8	6.2
Pilsen	100	92.1	4.4	0.2	3.3
North Side	100	46.3	28.4	5.2	20.1
Back of the Yards	100	87.4	8.0	0.1	4.4
South Side	100	88.8	7.0	0.2	4.1
All Regions	100	62.5	29.3	1.5	6.8
Chicago	100	60.6	26.6	2.7	10.1

6. DISTRIBUTION OF EACH LATINO SUBGROUP AMONG CHICAGO LATINO "SECTORS"

Sector	Percent by Residential Sector			
	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Cuban	Latinos Other
West Town	19.3	65.5	21.3	19.5
Pilsen	32.6	3.6	1.5	7.1
North Side	7.2	10.1	18.1	18.8
Back of the Yards	9.1	1.9	0.3	2.7
South Side	8.9	1.6	0.4	2.4
Percent in These Sections	77.1	82.7	41.5	50.6
Chicago	100	100	100	100

7. DISTRIBUTION OF LATINO POPULATION IN CHICAGO-GARY REGION MUNICIPALITIES

Area	Latino Population	Percent Latino	Percent of Total Region's Latinos
Chicago	422,063	14.0	67.3
East Chicago	16,818	42.3	2.7
Aurora	14,482	17.8	2.3
Gary	10,793	7.1	1.7
Waukegan	9,253	13.7	1.4
Hammond	7,777	8.3	1.2
Joilet	6,565	8.5	1.0
Elgin	6,529	10.2	1.0
Cicero	5,271	8.6	0.8
Chicago Heights	4,205	11.7	0.7
Blue Island	3,469	15.9	0.6
Melrose Park	3,060	14.5	0.5
Carpentersville	2,141	9.2	0.3
West Chicago	2,094	16.5	0.3
Summitt	2,020	20.0	0.3
North Chicago	1,963	5.1	0.3
Maywood	1,893	6.1	0.3
Hanover Park	1,748	6.1	0.3
Addison	1,695	5.9	0.3
Franklin Park	1,643	8.8	0.2
Bensenville	1,353	8.3	0.2
Total Municipalities		13.4	83.7

Table 8. MEDIAN INCOME AND PERCENT IN POVERTY, CHICAGO COMMUNITY AREAS WITH SIGNIFICANT LATINO POPULATIONS

	Median Income			Percent in Poverty		
	Latinos	Whites	Blacks	Latinos	Whites	Blacks
Rogers Park	$15,629	$21,510	$12,906	21.3	13.1	27.9
Uptown	$13,094	$14,804	$12,388	27.7	27.4	30.0
Lincoln Square	$17,910	$20,125	-	12.3	9.8	-
Lake View	$16,137	$22,136	$16,344	20.0	11.9	12.9
Lincoln Park	$13,032	$27,300	$14,500	23.2	11.2	29.0
Albany Park	$11,019	$20,479	$15,484	18.7	11.8	17.4
Hermosa	$17,039	$19,211	-	19.9	10.1	-
Avondale	$17,455	$19,333	-	16.8	11.3	-
Logan Square	$14,276	$17,307	$11,807	25.9	18.0	36.8
Humboldt Park	$13,538	$16,904	$12,275	30.5	21.4	34.8
West Town	$11,392	$14,163	$ 9,303	37.7	26.4	39.5
Austin	$18,392	$21,555	$14,494	20.7	9.4	28.9
Near West Side	$13,976	$18,383	$ 6,611	31.9	25.6	60.0
North Lawndale	$12,499	$13,749	$ 9,845	49.7	34.5	43.3
Little Village	$16,767	$17,886	$ 9,549	21.4	17.3	48.7
Pilsen	$14,086	$16,538	$10,833	28.5	21.8	57.8
South Chicago	$20,523	$21,353	$19,931	17.6	12.3	17.9
South Deering	$21,342	$21,446	$21,321	11.5	6.7	16.8
Brighton Park	$19,068	$20,546	-	15.5	10.4	-
Back of Yards	$15,744	$17,316	$10,291	21.6	19.0	41.4
Gage Park	$21,233	$22,045	-	11.4	6.9	-

TABLE 9. PERCENT OF LATINO POPULATION IN POVERTY BY PERCENT LATINO OF TRACT

Percent Latino	Percent of Latino Population in Poverty
10-19	32
20-29	22
30-39	20
40-49	24
50-59	28
60-69	26
70-79	23
80-89	28
90+	26

Table 10. MEDIAN INCOME AND PERCENT OF POPULATION IN POVERTY, SELECTED SUBURBAN MUNICIPALITIES

	Median Income			Percent in Poverty		
	Latinos	Whites	Blacks	Latinos	Whites	Blacks
Aurora	$20,822	$23,728	$17,627	13	6	23
Chicago Heights	$17,545	$24,208	$13,329	18	8	29
Cicero	$20,207	$20,879	-	16	8	-
Elgin	$18,934	$23,638	$17,705	17	6	22
Hanover Park	$23,723	$27,228	-	6	3	-
Joliet	$21,071	$24,197	$15,263	16	6	30
Maywood	$23,654	$22,060	$21,464	14	8	15
North Chicago	$17,978	$16,502	$17,302	6	4	18
Waukegan	$17,807	$24,122	$17,995	19	6	18

Table 11. DISTRIBUTION OF CHICAGO POPULATION BY AGE

	Latinos		Blacks		Whites	
Age Category	*	**	*	**	*	**
under 5	13	24	4	24	9	48
5-9	11	21	4	24	10	52
10-14	10	17	5	24	10	51
15-19	10	16	7	33	11	48
20-24	12	17	9	40	10	40
25-29	11	16	9	43	8	37
30-34	8	16	7	43	7	37
35-39	6	15	5	41	6	40
40-44	5	14	5	41	5	41
45-49	4	12	5	45	5	40
50-54	3	9	6	52	5	36
55-59	2	7	7	59	4	32
60-64	1	4	7	66	3	27
65-69	1	4	6	69	3	25
70-74	.7	3	5	70	2	25
75+	.8	3	7	74	2	22

* Percent of Group's Population in Category
** Percent Group Comprised of Total Chicago Population in Category

Entry 12.

Dissimilarity is inadequate for measuring segregation when the number of residential blocks is greater, or barely less, than the number of persons a given group under study. This is due to the fact that the index is an average statistic computed over all of the residential blocks in the area, whether persons of a given group live in each block or not.

Exposure is, on the other hand, a valid measure for cases where population is smaller than the number of blocks in a given area. Exposure valid for this scenario because it does not take into account resident blocks where members of a given group do not reside, whereas dissimilarity

does. In this way, the exposure rate gives the actual average within-block population composition for members of each group.

Recognizing the limitations inherently involved in the use of the index of dissimilarity, and taking care that, perhaps interminably, complete residential integration is an abstraction unlikely to occur in other than hypothetical circumstances, the formula is presented:

$$IDAB = 50 \sum_{S=1}^{S} ABS(AS/AT-BS/BT).$$

Taeuber and Taeuber, American Sociological Review, August 1976. Where IDAB is the index of dissimiliarity of groups A and B; 'S' represents a sub-area and 'AS' and 'BS' are the sub-area's populations of group A and B, respectively, such that $\sum_{S=1}^{S} BS=BT$. Thus, IDAB is fifty times the sum of the absolute values of the differences between each group's location quotient in each sub-area. The Exposure Index is actually the numerator P* of Wendell Bell's modified version of the Isolation index proposed by Eshref Schevky and Marylin Williams in 1949 and is given by:

$$BxA = 1/BT \sum_{S=1}^{S} BS(AS)/TS;$$

Where BxA is the measure of a typical member of group B's exposure to groups A; BT is the area's total population of B. BS and AS are each sub-area's number of B- and A- group members, respectively, such that:

$$\sum_{S=1}^{1} BS=BT, \text{ and } \sum_{S=1}^{1} AS=AT;$$

and TS is the sub-area's total population.

Table 13. RACIAL OCCUPANCY OF THE CHICAGO HOUSING AUTHORITY FAMILY HOUSING PROJECTS, 1970-1980

	Percent Distribution		
Year	White	Black	Latino
1971	17	82	1
1972	17	82	1
1973	17	82	1
1974	17	82	1
1975	16	82	2
1976	16	82	2
1977	15	83	2
1978	15	83	2
1979	14	84	2
1980	14	84	2
1981	13	85	2

Source: 1981 CHA Statistical Report

Table 14. PERCENT CHANGE IN PUBLIC SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

Jurisdiction	Hispanic	Black	White	Other Minority
Suburban Cook County	+51.3	+57.8	-63.7	+48.7
Dupage County	+ 5.6	+11.9	-13.4	+25.9
Kane County	+14.0	+ 7.5	- 6.9	+13.0
Lake County	+19.9	+ 1.3	- 8.4	+ 4.6
McHenry County	+ 1.3	+ .4	- 2.1	+ 1.3
Will County	+ 7.6	+20.8	- 5.2	+ 6.2

Percentages generated from Table II, entitled "Change in Public School Attendance, September 1979 to September 1981" as published by the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities.

Table 15. ABILITY TO SPEAK ENGLIGH AMONG INDIVIDUALS IN SPANISH-SPEAKING HOUSEHOLDS BY AGE GROUPS, ACCORDING TO COMMUNITY AREA

Community Area		Percent of Age Group Who Speak English "Not Well" or "Not at All"	
		5-17 Year Olds	Persons Over 18 Years Old
1	Rogers Park	15	40
3	Uptown	27	45
4	Lincoln Square	19	32
6	Lake View	16	31
7	Lincoln Park	21	28
14	Albany Park	20	37
20	Hermosa	19	31
21	Avondale	10	32
23	Humboldt Park	17	36
24	West Town	20	45
25	Austin	10	29
28	Near West Side	23	42
29	North Lawndale	12	27
30	Little Village	23	48
31	Pilsen	33	54
51	South Deering	14	30
58	Brighton Park	13	28
61	Back of the Yards	22	49
63	Gage Park	15	18

Entry 16. GLOSSARY

1. Labor Force Participation Rate: labor force as a percentage of civilian non-institutional population 16 years and older.

2. Percentage employed: percentage of the civilian non-institutional population 16 years and older who "did any work as paid employees or in their businesses during the survey week, or who worked 15 hours or more as unpaid workers in an enterprise operated by a family member. Persons temporarily absent from a job because of illness, bad weather, or strike, or for personal reasons are counted as employed whether they were paid by their employers or were seeking other jobs." (Geographic Profile of Employment and Unemployment 1977-81).

3. Unemployment rate: percentage of the labor force who "did not work during the survey week, made specific efforts to find a job in the prior four weeks and were available for work during the survey week (except for illness). Persons waiting to be recalled to a job from which they had been laid off, and those waiting to report to a new job within the next 30 days also counted as employed." (Ibid).

4. Population: refers to the civilian non-institutional population, 16 years and older.

Entry 17. COMPOSITION OF EEO-4 FUNCTION CATEGORIES

SOURCE: EEOC State and Local Government Information (EEO-4) reporting form for the City of Chicago, fiscal year 1982, list adapted from information from Chicago Urban League and the Department of Personnel City of Chicago.

FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION AND GENERAL CONTROL

Mayor's Office of Employment Training, Mayor's Office, Mayor's Office of Budget Management, City Council Committees, Bureau of License Examination and Registration, City Clerk, Data Center, Chicago-Cook County Criminal Justice Commission, Mayor's Office of Inquiry and Information, Department of Purchasing, Contracts, Supplies, Registrar of Citizen's Complaints, City Treasurer, Department of Personnel, Department of Revenue, City Controller's Office, Office of Professional Review, Department of Law, Liquor Appeals Commission, Board of Election Commissioners.

STREETS AND HIGHWAYS

Department of Public Works, Department of Streets and Sanitation (Bureaus of Parking, Streets, Street Traffic, Equipment Service, Electricity, Electrical Wiring Communications.

POLICE PROTECTION

Department of Police

FIRE PROTECTION

Department of Fire

NATURAL RESOURCES

Department of Streets and Sanitation (Bureau of Forestry, Parkways, and Beautification, and Division of Parks and Recreation).

HEALTH

Department of Health

HOUSING

Department of Housing

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Department of Planning, City and Community Development, Economic Development Commission, Health Systems Agency, Zoning Board of Appeals

UTILITIES AND TRANSPORTATION

Department of Aviation, Department of Water and Sewers (except Bureau of Sewers)

SANITATION AND SEWAGE

Department of Streets and Sanitation (Bureau of Sanitation), Department of Water and Sewers (Bureau of Sewers)

OTHER ('HUMAN SERVICES AND LIBRARIES' in text)

Department of Human Services, Municipal Reference Library, Mayor's Office of Senior Citizens and Handicapped, Commission on Human Relations, Chicago Coucil on Fine Arts, Mayor's Office for Child Care Service, Department of Energy and Environmental Protection, Chicago Public Library, Commission on Animal Care and Control.

DESCRIPTION OF EEOC OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES

SOURCE: EEOC form 164, State and Local Government Information (EEO-4) Instruction Booklet (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Washington, D.C. pp 5-6)

"OFFICIALS AND ADMINISTRATORS: Occupations in which employees set broad policies, exercise overall responsibility for execution of these policies, or direct individual departments or special phases of the agency's operations, or provide specialized consultation in a regional, district or area basis. Includes: department heads, bureau chiefs, directors, deputy directors, controller, examiners, wardens superintendents, sheriffs, police and fire chiefs and inspectors and kindred workers."

"PROFESSIONALS: Occupations which require specialized and theoretical knowledge which is usually acquired through college training or through work experience and other training which provides comparable knowledge. Includes: personnel and labor relations workers, social workers, doctors, psychologists, registered nurses, economists, dieticians, lawyers, system analysts, accountants, engineers, employment and vocational rehabilitation counselors, teachers or instructors, police and fire captains and lieutenants and kindred workers."

"TECHNICIANS: Occupations which require a combination of basic scientific or technical knowledge and manual skill which can be obtained through specialized post-secondary school education or through equivalent on-the-job training. Includes: computer programmers and operators, draftsmen, surveyors, licensed practical nurses, photographers, radio operators, technical illustrators, highway technicians, technicians (medical, dental, electronic, physical sciences), assessors, inspectors, police and fire sargeants and kindred workers."

"PROTECTIVE SERVICE WORKERS: Occupations in which workers are entrusted with public safety, security and protection from destructive forces. Includes: police patrol officers, fire fighters, guards, deputy sheriffs, bailiffs, correctional officers, detectives, marshals, harbor patrol officers and kindred workers."

"PARAPROFESSIONALS: Occupations in which workers perform some of the duties of a professional or technician in a supportive role, which usually require

less formal training and/or experience normally required for professional or technical status. Such positions may fall within an identified pattern of staff development and promotion under a "New Careers" concept. Includes: library assistants, medical aides, child support workers, police auxilary, welfare service aides, recreation assistants, homemakers aides, home health aides, and kindred workers."

"OFFICE AND CLERICAL: Occupations in which workers are responsible for internal and external communication, recording and retrieval of data and/or information and other paper work required in an office. Includes: bookkeepers, messengers, office machine operators, clerk-typists, stenographers, court transcribers, hearing reporter, statistical clerks, dispatchers, license distributors, payroll clerks, and kindred workers."

"SKILLED CRAFT WORKERS: Occupations in which workers perform jobs which require special manual skill and a thorough and comprehensive knowledge of the processes involved in the work which is acquired through on-the-job training and experience or through apprenticeship or other formal training programs. Includes: mechanics and repairmen, electricians, heavy equipment operators, stationary engineers, skilled machining occupations, carpenters, compositors and typesetters and kindred workers."

"SERVICE-MAINTENANCE: Occupations in which workers perform duties which result in or contribute to the comfort, convenience, hygiene or safety of general public or which contribute to the upkeep and care of building, facilities, or grounds of public property. Workers in this group may operate machinery. Includes: chauffers, laundry and dry cleaning operatives, truck drivers, bus drivers, garage laborers, custodial personnel, gardeners and groundskeepers, refuse collectors, construction laborers."